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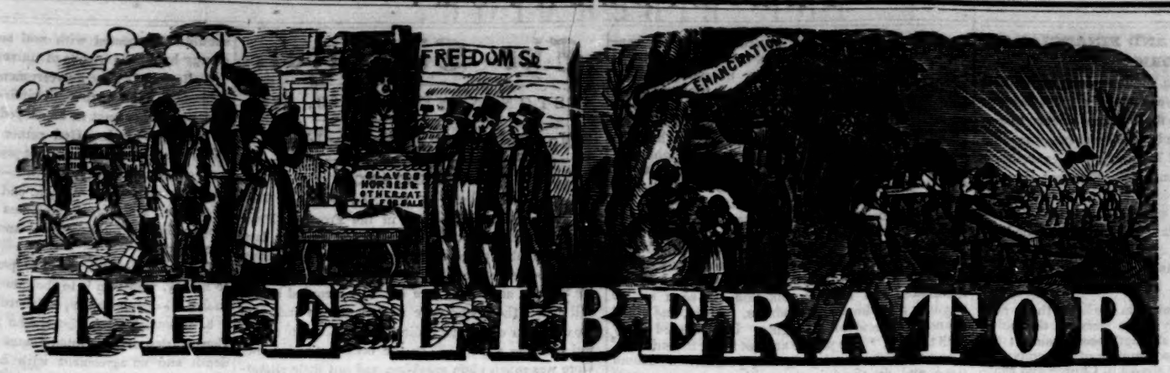

THE LIBERATOR

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

☞ 'Yes! it cannot be denied—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for slaves—for articles of merchandize, under the name of persons. . . . Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is, to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress, and hereby to make the PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR. OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

VOL. XIX. NO. 47. BOSTON, MASS., FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1849. WHOLE NO. 985.

Refuge of Oppression.

From the (Democratic!!) Washington Union.

A SIGNIFICANT FACT.

We find the following paragraph in the editorial columns of the Boston Atlas of the 8th instant:—

NEW YORK COLORED MEN. A meeting was held one evening last week by the colored voters of New York city, at which they voted to support *the Whig ticket* unanimously. We hope our colored friends in Boston will imitate the good resolve of their brethren in New York. The Whig party is the party of freedom, and always was.

This paragraph contains, first, an admission of the fact, that the negro voters of the city of New York and the Whig party of that city *had formed a coalition*, and that the negroes had resolved to vote the Whig ticket in the late election; and, secondly, it contains an appeal or proposition to the African voters of Boston to do the same thing in the latter city.

We did not suppose the organs of the party claiming to be the legitimate aristocracy, to possess all the decency, and to be the only true supporters of 'law and order,' would stoop to such an alliance. We could hardly contemplate any thing more interesting than to see the Lawrences, the Choates, the Winthrops, the Appletons, &c. &c., of the proud and aristocratic city of Boston, walking arm in arm to the polls with Sambo, Cuffee, Cæsar, Pompey, &c. &c., or their descendants, to deposite their ballots in favor of sound *conservatism*. Yet such will be the fact, if the colored men accept this proposition for a coalition, contained in the organ of the Boston aristocracy, which they doubtless will.

Yet it is no new thing for the Whigs and negroes in the free States to vote together at elections. It was done at the late election in New York, and the result in the State, it seems, depended upon the negro vote. The negro vote, amounting to 1200 or 1500, has given the State to the Whigs, if they have got it. In the contest between the suffrage and charter parties in Rhode Island in 1842, the negroes in Providence, having the right to vote, coalesced with the Whig or charter party in support of 'law and order.'

These are significant and important facts for the patriot to contemplate in both sections of the Union. To the North it shows how the most degraded classes of voters are enlisted under the banners of the money aristocracy, to perpetuate by their votes principles and policies really at war with their own true interests. To the South it demonstrates, beyond all cavil and dispute, that the Whig party of the North are the worst enemies of her rights and interests, and are ready for any alliance, however degrading it may be, in order to succeed in their political schemes.

SLAVES IN MEMPHIS.

A correspondent of the Memphis Eagle makes loud complaints *against the slaveholders of that vicinity* for allowing their slaves too much liberty. The event which started this writer's indignation was the sight of a large number of slaves bidding for cattle at an auction. His letter portrays the following state of affairs:—

'The loose condition of our slave population in Memphis has actually become a source not only of great trouble to their owners and to the community, but one of uneasiness and *apprehension*. And it is this unlawful tolerance, and this loose and improper indulgence of their masters, that is producing it. They are suffered to hire their own time, and in many instances to become masters of other slaves, by hiring them of their masters—one of the most gross and mischievous violations of law that could well be tolerated. They roll through the city in their carriages and buggies on a Sabbath day, expensively dressed, when gentlemen are unable, in consequence, to get similar accommodations at some of our public stables.

A source of evil to our slaves, and out of which grows the greatest mischief to them, is the encouragement and permission of *free negro haunts* in our city. There are many, both male and female, and they should be suppressed.

The black washerwomen, whether free or bond, should not be permitted to keep house of themselves, as many now do. They are filled with vice and evil to the slave population, and spread discontent among them, as well as a desire to be half-free also, as those black housekeepers are. The vicinity and purlieus of our city have become also, as it were, a vast den for runaways, from afar as well as near—and there is scarcely a week that they are not seen secreted, or heard prowling about us; and it is the facilities afforded them by the free blacks and slaves of our city, who are more than half free, and the rest of evil, that attracts them here. They must, for their own good, as well as for the safety of society, be kept in their proper sphere—and those white persons who fraternize with them and corrupt them, should be dealt with in the full severity of the law for such infractions. Our safety demands it.

MISSISSIPPI DISUNION.

A 'State Southern Convention' was held at Jackson on the 1st inst., 'without distinction of party,' to consider the present prospects of slave propagandism, and to take measures to resist the efforts of the North to exclude slavery from the new territories. The Whigs and Locofocos all agreed at length to the following, among other resolutions:—

Resolved, That Congress has no power to pass any law abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, or to prohibit the slave trade between the several States, or to prohibit the introduction of slavery into the territories of the United States; and that the passage by Congress of any such law would not only be a dangerous violation of the Constitution, but would afford evidence of a fixed and deliberate design, on the part of that body, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States.

Resolved, That the passage of the Wilmot Proviso, or of any law abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, by the Congress of the United States, would of itself, be such a breach of the Federal compact as, in that event, will make it the duty, as it is the right of the slaveholding States, to *take care of their own safety*, and to TREAT THE NON-SLAVEHOLDING STATES AS ENEMIES to the slaveholding States and their domestic institutions.

Resolved, That the Legislature is hereby requested to *pass such laws* as may, in their opinion, be best calculated *to encourage the emigration of citizens of the slaveholding States, with slaves, to the new territories of the United States.*

A further resolve, recommending a general convention of the slaveholding States, to assemble at Nashville, Tenn., on the first Monday in June next, to consider the propriety of forming a Southern Confederacy. About seventy delegates were present, from thirty counties—about *half* the State.

PALEY AN INCENDIARY.

☞ The Charleston (S. C.) Mercury, Mr. Calhoun's organ, is continually finding a mare's nest in its attempts to guard and protect chattel slavery. In a recent number, it thus speaks of a work long used in our schools and colleges as a standard textbook:—

'*Paley's Moral Philosophy should be treated by the law as an incendiary book, and be banished from our bookstores, and certainly from our schools.*'

What next?

THE BISHOP OF ALABAMA.

The present Bishop of Alabama, Dr. Cobbs, an estimable and devout prelate of the Episcopal Church, is a native of Virginia, and several years ago was inclined to emancipate a favorite family of negroes, descended to him from his father. They were devout, well raised, carefully instructed, could read and write, and recited the offices of the church with propriety and correctness. When the negroes ascertained the inclination of their master's mind, they annoyed him incessantly, flattering themselves how well they could do, and how rich they would become if liberated, until they succeeded in obtaining from him deeds of manumission. As they were good house servants, they could do well in Baltimore. They were furnished with plenty of clothes, money to pay their way, and letters to gentlemen in Baltimore to see after them. After a short time, they could do better in Philadelphia, and in the course of a year or two reached New York. From Baltimore they wrote home occasionally, but the correspondence grew less, and finally ceased. About the third winter, they wrote from New York. The weather was very cold, and as work was scarce to be had, and they were not very well, they wanted to know if 'old master could not send them some money.' They finally sunk down, and fell in with the depraved habits of the herd of free negroes; and nothing distresses the good Bishop now more than reflecting upon the error he committed, in gratifying their wishes and setting them free. This is, on a small scale, a picture of the moral desolation that misguided fanatics would visit upon the whole country, from the Potomac to the Rio Grande.—*Southern correspondent of the New York Herald.*

A 'CHATTEL' FOR SALE.

The following, which we find published in a paper from Norfolk, Va., speaks more than volumes of argument against the most infamous system of wrong the earth bears up:—

'NOTICE. For sale, a colored girl, of *very superior qualifications*, who is now in Mr. Hall's jail, in Norfolk. *She is what speculators call a fancy girl*—a bright mulatto, fine figure, straight black hair, and very black eyes; remarkably neat and cleanly in her dress and person. I venture to say, that there is not a better seamstress, cutter and fitter of ladies' and children's dresses, in Norfolk or elsewhere, or a more fanciful knitter of bead bags, money purses, &c.

'*Any* lady or gentleman in Norfolk or Portsmouth who may wish to purchase a girl of this description, (whom I consider the most valuable in Virginia,) may take her and *try her a month or more at my risk*, and if she does not suit and answer the description here given, may return her to Mr. Hall.

'The cause of offence for which I intend (though reluctantly) to sell her, is that she has been recently induced, by some colored persons, to make her escape with them to the North, in which she failed, and is now for sale. Apply to the subscriber in Suffolk, or to James Murdaugh, Esq., or C. C. Robinson, of Portsmouth, for further information.

'JOSEPH HOLLADAY.'

TRUE TO SLAVERY.

No cruelty or injustice, however monstrous, can be an abuse of slavery. Nothing but mercy or humanity is inconsistent with it. The resolutions below, adopted at a large meeting in Gallatin, Mississippi, are in the true slaveholding spirit:—

Resolved, That inasmuch as circumstances have rendered it *impolitic for slaves to be taught to read in this State, and without some degree of learning the doctrines of the Bible cannot be profitably taught, it is highly improper for slaves to congregate for the purpose of meetings*, except when a *regular authorized minister* or ministers attend, and superintend and perform the services.

Resolved, That the law relating to free negroes, slaves and mulattoes should be so amended as absolutely and unconditionally to prevent slaves from selling or bartering any commodity or article whatever, whether the product of the soil or labor, thereby effectually preventing their raising cotton, corn, potatoes, peaches, melons, pigs, poultry, &c., for sale, under any pretence whatever.

EVIL THINGS GO TOGETHER.

The Rev. Dr. Shannon President, we believe, of Bacon College, Ky., seems intent on degrading humanity. He is an advocate of slavery, on Bible principles, and also holds that as woman was 'first in the transgression,' and having beguiled man, she is put in bondage to his authority. See how he loves slavery:—

'The wide-spreading contempt for this statute, exhibited by the politico-religious fanaticism and infidelity of the age, is one of the most alarming symptoms of approaching anarchy, and the overthrow of our liberties. The attempt which is being made in these United States, to elevate the wife to a *political equality* with her husband, or to change in any respect the relation established between them by God himself, is rank infidelity, no matter what specious disguise it may assume: and it cannot fail to be replete with mischief to both parties, and to the best interests of the family, the State, and the Church. For the *punishment*, then, as well as for the *cure* of her sin, she was put in bondage to her husband. And, though infidel fanaticism may blaspheme, enlightened Christian philanthropy will always say Amen to the Divine statute.'

From the (Austin) Texas State Gazette.

FATHER MATHEW AND THE ABOLITIONISTS.

William Lloyd Garrison and his coadjutors have made a desperate attempt to entangle Father Mathew in the cause of abolitionism. The great apostle of temperance, however, had too much wisdom to be diverted from his mission for partizan purposes. When an invitation in behalf of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was delivered to him, requesting him to be present at the anniversary of British West India emancipation, he replied—'I have as much as I can do to save men from the slavery of intemperance, without attempting the overthrow of any other kind of slavery. Besides, it would not be proper for me to commit myself on a question like this under present circumstances. I am a Catholic priest, but being here to promote the cause of temperance, I should not be justified in turning aside from my mission, for the purpose of subserving Catholicism.'

Whatever Father Mathew's views may be upon the question of slavery, he certainly acted with prudence in resisting the solicitations of those who would narrow his sphere of action and usefulness. The mortification which Garrison felt, because he could not induce Father Mathew to engage in the cause of abolitionism, is described in the last paragraph of a letter written by him upon their interview:—'What gave me special surprise and inflicted the deepest wound upon my spirit,' he says, 'was the apparent lack of all sympathy for the slave—of all interest in the Anti-Slavery movement. Not a syllable fell from his lips expressive of pleasure that the American slave has his faithful and devoted advocates—or of joy at the emancipation of eight hundred thousand bondmen in the British Isles! It is with great sorrow of heart I lay these facts before America, Ireland, and the world.' Father Mathew has probably seen enough of the world to convince him that slavery does not exist so much in *name* as in *fact*. The paupers of England, the serfs of Russia, the peons of Mexico, and even the negroes of Northern States, are, generally speaking, in a much worse condition than the slaves of the Southern States—so far, at least, as the comforts and pleasures of life are concerned.

ANOTHER ABOLITIONIST has been pestering Father Mathew, but with worse success than Garrison! The best evidence of the worthlessness of these men is the fact, that the better they are known, the more are they despised, even by persons previously prejudiced in their favor. They are so hypocritically deceitful in their pretensions to philanthropy, that no sensible man can come in contact with them for a moment, without discovering that it has no better foundation than cant, humbug, and pharisaical self-righteousness.—(*Jackson*) *Mississippi Gazette.*

AMIABLE SENTIMENTS. The Louisville Courier says:—

'Gov. Crittenden is censured severely for granting a pardon to Rev. Calvin Fairbanks, the negro stealer. The public generally believe the reverend villain should have been compelled to serve out every minute of his time.'

Poor Fairbanks' whole offence was that of aiding some poor slaves in an effort to escape from slavery.

Selections.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

BY WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH.

'We will extend to the slaveholder all the courtesy he will allow. If he is hungry, we will feed him; if he is in want, both hands shall be stretched out for his aid. We will give him full credit for all the good that he does, and our deep sympathy in all the temptations under whose strength he falls. But to help him in his sin, to remain partners with him in the slave-trade, is more than he has a right to ask.'—*Wendell Phillips.*

No wrong action can be rightfully done. No wrong can be rightfully supported. We can neither rightfully hold slaves nor support others in slaveholding, because, as we have seen, slaveholding is under all circumstances wrong. Some of the provisions of the Constitution, as we have seen, were expressly designed for the purpose of supporting slavery, and for over half a century have very materially supported it. Consequently, these provisions cannot be rightfully obeyed or supported. It is wrong to offer a bounty on slaveholding,—to give the oppressor power and influence, in proportion as he tramples on the rights of his fellow-man; it is wrong to return, or aid in returning, a fugitive slave; it is wrong to aid in keeping the slave in his fetters. These things are wrong, and not all the Constitutions and laws of the universe can make them right. We cannot, therefore, rightfully obey the pro-slavery clauses of the Constitution.

If we cannot rightfully obey them ourselves, we cannot rightfully, voluntarily, support others in obeying them. If it is wrong for me to return a fugitive slave, it is wrong for me voluntarily to aid or support another man in doing the act. If it is wrong for me to commit murder, it is no less wrong for me to hand the pistol to the assassin. Whatever it is wrong for us to do ourselves, it is wrong for us voluntarily to aid or support others in doing. Consequently, it is wrong for us voluntarily to aid or support others in obeying the pro-slavery requirements of the Constitution.

If we cannot rightfully obey them, it is wrong for us to promise such obedience. If it is wrong for us voluntarily to support others in their obedience, it is wrong for us to promise any such support. If it is wrong for us to return a fugitive slave, it is wrong for us to promise to return one. If it is wrong for us voluntarily to aid the slave-hunter, it is wrong for us to promise such aid. Whatever it is wrong for us to do or aid others in doing, it is wrong for us to promise to do or aid others in doing. Consequently, it is wrong for us to promise to support these constitutional provisions. We cannot, therefore, accept any office, either State or national, which renders it necessary to support these clauses, or to promise to support them. We cannot, therefore, rightfully hold any executive or judicial office, either State or national, or become a member of any State legislature or of Congress; for all these officers are obliged solemnly to swear or affirm that they will 'support the Constitution;' and to support the Constitution is to support all of its clauses, as well those which favor slavery as those which do not. If we take this oath, meaning to keep it, we do wrong. If we take it, meaning not to keep it, we add to our wrong, perjury; for we mentally break our oath at the very instant it passes our lips.

Some good men seek to avoid the difficulty by saying, 'When I swear to support the Constitution, I mean I will support the good clauses in it, and disobey the bad, and submit to the penalty for such disobedience.' But such a course is not a compliance with the terms of the oath. You have sworn 'to support the Constitution; that is, the whole Constitution,—all its clauses,—the bad as sacredly as the good. Your oath is not in the alternative, 'I will support the clause requiring the return of fugitive slaves, or pay five hundred dollars for ever, slave I aid in escaping;' but simply, without qualification, 'I will support the side of the oppressor.' If you aid the fugitive slave to escape from his master, you do not support the latter in retaking his property, merely by paying the legal penalty for not giving such support. You would not support a bad law, and yet you say your oath to support it is not broken, because you submit to the penalty for not supporting it. The thief does not support the law of private property, merely by submitting to the legal punishment of his crime. To support is to be active: to submit is to be passive. You swear to be active, and you do not comply with your oath by being merely passive. You have sworn actively to support the recapture of slaves. You break your oath, if you refuse to do this, or do any thing less or different from this.

Others think to find a good excuse for taking the oath, by adopting another alternative, equally unauthorized. 'We will support the Constitution,' say they 'until we are called on to act under any of its bad clauses, and then we will resign our office, and refuse obedience.' Doubtless, honor requires you to resign, if you cannot comply with the terms of your oath; but what right have you to adopt or imagine an alternative in your oath where the law has made none,—where the officer administering it will admit of none? Who does not see a wide difference between an honest oath to support the return of fugitive slaves, and an oath to support such return, but with a firm resolve on your part to refuse such support when called on for it, and to resign? What right have you to take an oath which you have previously resolved not to keep, when called on to comply with? You admit that a bad clause cannot be rightfully supported, else why do you not support it? You admit that the oath obliges you to support the bad clauses of the Constitution as well as the good; else why do you resign, if refusal to support the bad clauses is consistent with your oath? You openly avow, therefore, that, at the very moment you swear to support a clause, you determine never to support it. You swear, and determine not to keep your oath! Such a course seems to us inconsistent with the plainest rules of honesty. We have no right to promise to do wrong, even though we have resolved to do right when the time for action shall arrive.

Others say, 'We swear to support the Constitution as we understand it, and we consider it an anti-slavery instrument.' In other words, you swear to support an interpetration which is contrary to the plain, obvious, and common meaning of the instrument; contrary to the interpretation put upon it by its framers; contrary to that followed by all the executive and legislative departments of the government, from its first establishment until now; and contrary to that which has been adjudged to be its true interpretation by the final arbiter of its meaning. Of course, you intend to support the true meaning of the Constitution. Do you really believe that the people of the United States did not mean by their words what those words then commonly meant? Do you really doubt the historical fact of the humiliating compromise between the delegates from the Southern and Eastern States in the Philadelphia Convention, by which the latter undertook to barter the moral sense of their constituents for what was supposed to be their interest? Do you really believe that the people have suffered their servants to go on in ignorance of the true meaning for sixty years? In fact, do you venture to affirm, or do you in perfect sincerity and truthfulness believe, that your interpretation has ever, at any time, been considered right by the people of the United States, or by any considerable number of them? You deceive yourself with words! What is the Constitution? Not the meaning which you or I, or any third person, may please to put upon it; but that meaning, and that meaning only, which consists with its being, what it declares itself to be, the supreme law of the land. Until, therefore, you can show that the Constitution may properly receive as many different interpretations as there are oaths to support it, and still be, in fact, the supreme law, the one, single, definite rule for all, States as well as people, you have no right to say, 'I will support the pro-slavery clauses as I understand them.' To support them in any other sense than that which is affixed to them, as the supreme law of the land, is merely to evade the true meaning of your oath.

Others say, 'We took the oath before we had any of our present scruples. We would not take the oath now; but, nevertheless, we shall continue in office, and disregard our oath.' This excuse seems to us very objectionable. How can you reap the honorary or pecuniary advantages of your office, and honestly refuse compliance with your part of the bargain? When you took office, you were really told, that, if you would swear to support the return of fugitive slaves, &c., you should enjoy these honors and these profits. The conscientious man, who, in striving to benefit himself, not his condition, discovers afterwards that he cannot rightfully aid, or promise to aid, the slaveholder in retaking his slaves, will not think of claiming the reward which was offered to him, solely because he swore to give such aid. He will make haste to resign honors and rewards which he feels can be retained only at the price of his own degradation.

If we cannot rightfully hold any office, State or national, which requires of us a promise to support the Constitution, it is wrong to place, or voluntarily aid in placing, any other person in such office; for by so doing, we ask him to do wrong. If we vote for Horace Mann, by this act alone we say to him, as distinctly as if the words passed our lips,—'We wish to elect you as representative to Congress. If chosen, we expect and ask you to qualify yourself to act as representative, by swearing to give slavery all constitutional support.' Merely by voting for him, we ask him to do wrong, hoping that good may come, almost knowing that good will come! So little faith have we in the final triumph of right and justice, by pursuing only right and just ways! Of so little consequence do we consider it, that the earnest advocate of freedom should commence his holy work by promising very materially to strengthen slavery! But a short time has elapsed since we read one of his most eloquent rebukes of slavery. Our heart beat quickly as we read his earnest words. But if, in the midst of his address, some slaveholder had turned and asked him, 'How happens it, sir, that you, who are so very earnest and disinterested in behalf of the rights of the slave, have been willing to swear to support this terrible wrong, to any extent or for any time?' And what answer could be returned? The eloquent tongue would be palsied! Surely that man who has solemnly called God to witness that he will support the oppressor, cannot fail, at some time or another, to feel himself to be unworthy to plead the cause of freedom.

Finally, some say, 'This reasoning leads to non-resistance. You disregard the fact that all human governments must contain a greater or less amount of evil; and consequently, if you are ever to support any government in all its requirements, you must support evil.' Very true is it that human governments and laws fall short of our relative standard of right, and always of absolute right. What is our duty? Clearly, as moral beings, to support the right, and refuse to support the wrong. Nothing more than this is required of us. Nothing less than this is our duty. We are not put into the world, blindly to support all existing governmental wrongs, until they can be constitutionally abolished. We are to be true to ourselves as moral beings. If we can be true to our own souls and support the government, we may give such support,—not otherwise! Right and wrong are not creatures of agreement and law. Neither the Philadelphia Convention that framed the Constitution, nor the State Conventions that adopted it, had power to make wrong in the slightest degree right, or alter at all the moral character of slaveholding. Right is right, the Revised Statutes to the contrary notwithstanding. Wrong is wrong, the Constitution to the contrary notwithstanding. We say, therefore, we will obey the good requirements of the Constitution, and peacefully submit to the penalty of disobeying the bad. This is all that government has a right to ask of us. Institutions were made for man, not man for them. Constitutions are the work of man, and man is to be reverenced before his works. We see no inconsistency or impropriety in supporting the system of free-trade between the States, and refusing to support the domestic slave-trade; in supporting the patent laws, and refusing to aid in returning a runaway slave. We are good-government men, not no-government men. All governments are partly good. All we are willing to support in part: we will actively support the Constitution and laws, so far as conscience permits; we will peacefully submit to legal exaction for disobeying the rest.

Our purpose is accomplished. We have shown that we are politically united with the South in the support of slavery. We have shown that we should constantly bear upon our lips, and in our lives, the motto, '*No union with slaveholders, whereby we are obliged to countenance or support slavery.*' We desire to see a union among the States, but not a slaveholding union! A union of freemen and free States for the sake of freedom, no one would more readily support than we. But a union like ours, of free men and slaveholders, of free States and slave States, for the sake, in part, of securing property in claves, is demoralizing (how demoralizing has it been!) to both parties, and should receive, as it doubtless at no distant day will receive, the condemnation of the wise and good. In the meantime, it ought not, and it will not, receive either our respect or our voluntary support.

Negro Mechanics.—The white mechanics of Petersburg, Va., have held a meeting, and protested against the employment of negro mechanics. They have formed a society to put down the same.

From the South Bend Register.

THE SLAVE CASE.

SOUTH BEND, October 10, 1849.

About midnight, on the 27th of September, a party of eight or ten Kentuckians broke into the house of a Mr. Powell, in Cass county, Michigan, while he was absent. They drew their pistols and bowie knives, and dragging his wife and three children from their beds, bound them with cords and hurried them off to their covered wagons, and started post haste for Kentucky. The alarm was soon given, and pursuit soon commenced. They were overtaken near this place, by a neighbor of the Powells in pursuit, and a writ of Habeas Corpus immediately obtained. The Sheriff pursued the Kentuckians, and overtook them about a mile from town—the writ was served, and they came back to town for a trial. The name of the leader being unknown when the first writ was issued, a new writ was obtained directed to him, returnable before the Hon. Elisha Egbert, Probate Judge, who is authorized, by special statute, to try such writs. Norris, the leader of the party, in return to the writ, stated that the persons in his custody were his slaves, that they had absconded from his service in Kentucky, that he had arrested them in Cass Co., Michigan, and was on his journey returning with them to Kentucky. He did not pretend that he had obtained a certificate for their removal out of the State of Michigan, under the act of Congress. Messrs. Liston and Stanfield appeared for Norris, and Leavitt and Crocker for the Powells. The Powells excepted to the sufficiency of the return—on the ground that they had not obtained a certificate under the act of Congress, without which they could not legally hold them in custody in this State. After a full and fair hearing of the cause, the Judge decided that they were not legally held in custody, and ordered them to be discharged.

No sooner was the decision pronounced, than the Kentuckians gathered around them with their pistols and bowie-knives drawn, and held them by force. The Court House was crowded, and the people became, of course, very much excited at such proceedings in a Court of Justice. For some time it seemed as though a bloody fight was inevitable, but at last, at the request of Norris, the Sheriff took the Powells, and locked them up in jail. It was now discovered, that while the suit was pending on the Habeas Corpus, Norris had obtained a writ of the Clerk of the Circuit Court, under our *State Law* relative to fugitives from labor, and claimed the right to hold them under that. As they still remained in the custody of the Sheriff where Norris had placed them, a new writ of Habeas Corpus was obtained directed to the Sheriff, as also one, directed to Norris—returnable before the same Judge, on Monday morning, October 1st. Norris was duly informed of the time and place of trial, but refused to appear, though in town. It was satisfactorily shown to the Court, that the United States Supreme Court, in the case of Prigg vs. Pennsylvania, had decided that all State law, relative to fugitives from labor, are unconstitutional and void, and it followed of course that the writ issued by the Clerk was null and void—and could authorise no person to hold them in custody; they were accordingly discharged, and quietly departed with their friends and neighbors.

These proceedings have created quite an excitement in our town and vicinity, as does every case of this kind in the free States. It was gratifying to see the strong feeling of sympathy for the oppressed evinced by our fellow-citizens, controlled, however, by a desire to see the law take its course. It is said that Norris threatens to sue some of our citizens for damages under the act of Congress, but it is clear that no action of this kind will lie, as the pretended fugitives were regularly discharged after a fair trial by a competent Court. Besides, there is abundant testimony to show that they are not Norris's slaves, and that he has no just claim to them. In various conversations with our citizens, Norris stated facts enough to substantiate this. Before the trial of the last writ, it was proposed that Norris might introduce on the trial any evidence he might have to show that they were his slaves, but he concluded not to avail himself of this offer, knowing, we presume, that he could not sustain his claim by legal evidence.

Two civil suits for false imprisonment were commenced by the Powells against the Kentuckians, in our Circuit Court, and they gave bail in $1,000 in each case. The whole question will probably be tried in these suits. The result is, that the Powells are free, and the Kentuckians have returned home a little wiser than they came. BRYANT.

A DELAWARE SLAVE CASE.

At a session of the Sussex County Court, recently held in Georgetown, a case of extreme hardship was decided under a law which is a disgrace to the State of Delaware. It is thus stated by the Wilmington 'Blue Hen's Chicken':—

Collins vs. *Bilderback.*—Action against a steamboat Captain for carrying a slave out of the State. The plaintiff's wife went from Lewes to Philadelphia in defendant's steamboat, carrying with her a daughter and a little negro girl or slave, about six years old. It appeared that the Captain knew the girl was a slave, but being with her mistress, he took her out of the State, and she escaped. It turned out that the wife was leaving her husband, and carried the girl off without her husband's consent.

The Court said the law was exceedingly strict against persons carrying slaves out of the State by water, and must necessarily be so to afford any protection. It makes the Captain liable to a penalty of $500, whether he knows the negro to be a slave or not, or whether he knows him to be a runaway or not. If he takes a negro out of the State, he runs all risks if the negro turns out to be a slave—nothing will excuse him but the authority of the master expressed or implied, and such authority may be implied from the presence of the master, or, in case of a servant girl, even from the presence of the mistress, unless the Captain knew it was against the will of the master. A witness proved that Capt. Bilderback said he knew all the circumstances of the case, and the Jury gave a verdict of $500.

The Salem (N. J.) Standard gives the following as the facts in the case:—

Several years since, (1846 we believe,) Capt. Charles Bilderback was in command of the steamboat 'Portsmouth,' on the line between Philadelphia and Lewistown. It was customary at the latter place to receive passengers on board by means of a small boat plying to and from the shore, the owner of which charging ten cents per head for his trouble. One morning the boat came off with a respectable looking white woman, having a small negro girl who she professed was her servant. After the steamer had been some time under way, the Captain's attention was drawn to the child, and on proper inquiry he learned that she was a slave. His intention was now to put her ashore, but on taking the advice of a gentleman of the bar on board, and of a Judge of the Court, he learned that under the circumstances he had nothing to fear—that the girl was brought off by her mistress, without his knowledge or consent, and that no harm could ensue. After the lapse of a long period, (and probably not until the decision in a similar case against Capt. Vandergrift was known,) the husband of the woman and the owner of the slave commenced a suit against Capt. B. for damages. The latter gave his attention to the matter, and after a visit to Sussex County, at an expense of $60 he was informed by his attorney that he need trouble himself no farther about it, as the charges could not be sustained. Capt. B. however appealed, and it is hoped that the higher Court will so consider the honor of the State and the ends of justice as to reverse the decision. Capt. B. is entirely unable to meet the demand imposed by the *revengeful* sentence, and if it is not reversed, he can hereafter visit the State of Delaware only at the risk of incarceration in her jails.

ILLUSTRATION OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

The following extract from the Philadelphia Sun illustrates some of the revolting features of American slavery:—

'It was a sale-day—so we entered the auction building. Beard and Calhoun were the auctioneers. On a platform near the door stood the slaves to be sold; and the auctioneer, as he cried and discoursed of the separate merits, walked up and down in the rear, so as not to interfere with the sight of them. It did not require Mr. Beard to talk long, before we knew, by the manner in which he worried the V's and W's, that he is neither a native nor 'to the manner born.' 'The first lot I have to offer you to-day,' said Mr. B., 'is a family from a plantation—father, mother, and five children. What will you give for the lot, for they must be sold together?' How kind of him! 'They are fully guaranteed, and sold under good characters. Dick, the father, aged thirty-five years, a leading man on the plantation; his wife, aged thirty-one years, cotton-picker; Charles, twelve years; William, ten years; Thomas, seven years; Betsey, ten years; Maria, five years; and I am only offered two thousand dollars for the whole family!' They were eventually sold to a planter for $2500. The next offered was Hermina, a pretty mulattress, about seventeen years old. 'She is,' said the auctioneer, 'a good seamstress and hairdresser, raised in one family, and bears a good character.' The girl could scarcely withstand the rude gaze of the bidders and idlers, and turned her head aside when Mr. B. ordered her to face about and look at the audience. A slave-dealer stepped up and requested her to open her mouth, which she did, and he examined her teeth in the same manner a jockey would a horse; he felt her breast and shoulders with all the gusto of a connoisseur. But the slave-dealer did not get her, for a California adventurer became her purchaser for the sum of $690. The next subject was the griffe man, Patrick, aged twenty years; 'a very likely man,' said Mr. B., 'having a good character; a good barber and house servant, fully guaranteed against the vices and maladies prescribed by law, (what they were we did not learn,) and is only sold because his mistress has just got married.' The biddings at this stage of the proceedings grew faint and languid, and as the indifference of the auditors increased, the red-faced auctioneer became excited and wrathy. He was not very choice in the selection of the epithets he liberally bestowed indiscriminately upon the motley group before him. 'You either don't want to buy, or you are all a set of fools, said Mr. B., 'and if you have nothing else to do than to stand and gape at me, I have?' and, suiting his actions to his words, he stepped from the platform, beckoned to his clerk, and walked off. This ended the sale. Patrick sold for 750 dollars. That I may not reader myself liable to the imputation of pandering to sectional prejudices, or of treating a serious and unfortunate occurrence with too much levity, I would add, that I am personally and pecuniarily interested in the 'slave' business, but its extension and propagation by others meet with no favor from me.'

From the National Era.

THE HUMAN FLESH TRAFFIC.

☞ The following comes to us from a highly respectable gentleman, a citizen of St. Louis:—

ST. LOUIS, (Mo.) Sept. 24, 1849.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATIONAL ERA:

I have just returned to my room, after witnessing one of those soul-depressing and most unnatural of all earth's wicked transactions, THE SALE OF THREE HUMAN BEINGS, at a public auction sale.

Three auctioneers, at three several stands, under the eastern front of the court-house of this great city, cried articles for sale at the same moment. One of them sold old furniture; another, horses; the third, living images of the Almighty Father—a bureau, a horse, a WOMAN!

'How much for Maria, gentlemen, a very valuable woman, sold for no fault?'

And Maria was much more white than black—more American than African blood in her veins. Some white man's daughter, doubtless, was here sold. Maria stood in the centre of a crowd, her eyes cast down, her bosom heaving; in silence she stood under the eastern porch of the desecrated hall of justice, while men, trafficking in their kind, bid on her flesh, and bought, with dollars and cents, a sister of 'Mary, the mother of Jesus.' Then came into the circle, at the word of command, *the men who sold other men*, another woman, whose flesh was not so fair as Maria's, was not prized so highly, and brought less per pound, though something more, I observed, than did the animal with four feet, sold at the same instant, under another hammer.

At last, the circle of buyers and sorrowing lookers-on, opened again, admitting a girl of seventeen; and now the greedy and hateful eyes of some brightened up as with reflected glare from Satan's keener glance. The bids run rapidly up: this young woman will work more years; never mind her tears; the lash will dry them up; don't tell of her grief, tasks will kill it out; her mother, never mention her; her soul, ah, yes, her soul! Watch her, O Lord God! and, when her earthly tasks of slavery are all done, let the good of eternal life come to her soul, out of the evil of her enslaved life on earth!

As the girl of seventeen left the circle to follow the purchaser of her body, I observed that she took from her fingers three rings, and, with a look of unavailing sorrow, handed them to a boy who stood near, with a look of anxious whispering, which I could not hear—probably she sent them as tokens of a last farewell to friends held dear. She followed out of the crowd and down the street the man who had bought her. She had no halter on her head; it was on the soul.

From the Anti-Slavery Bugle.

INHUMANITY OF SLAVEHOLDERS.

FRIEND JOHNSON:—Much has been said, and much more written, of the wrongs inflicted on the poor slaves, and it seems much more needs to be said, and pressed home to the hearts of a guilty and temporising people, before they will be constrained to feel for those in 'bonds as bound with them.' Two years since, some of the readers of the Bugle will remember, I visited the land of whips and chains, and gave at that time, in that paper, an account of some of the wrongs, witnessed by myself, which are daily heaped upon the slave. I will give now a sketch of an incident which occurred a few miles out in the country from Memphis, Tenn. I have it from my friend, John Heighton, now of Edinburgh, Portage Co., Ohio.

I well remember the beautiful Christmas morning, when the slaves were allowed to bring their little things to the market, and to buy some humble present for their absent wives, or their intended companions, whom they generally visit during Christmas week, unless they are far removed. While I was observing these things in Memphis, John Heighton was witness to one of the most shocking outrages that was ever perpetrated upon our race. I am pained while I write. He was in the employ of Colonel Clifton, of Tipton Co., Tenn. Clifton had been admonished by his father and mother, in early life, not to become a slaveholder; yet the temptation was too great; he owned slaves, and among them 'Jack,' a

house carpenter, who was building his master a house. For two months previous to Christmas, he had worked night and day, in order to finish it on or before that time, so that he could be at liberty to visit his wife, who had been sold from him, (by his master, I think,) and whom he had not seen for two years!! though he had promised to visit her the year before this. His master left to attend a celebration of the Sons of Temperance, a few miles distant; blasted hope filled Jack's mind with despair; it required one week more of labor to finish the house; he said he could work no longer, and would leave to see the wife of his youth; he counselled with Heighton, and then with his mistress, whose sympathies were moved in his favor, 'for that day he did no work nor could he'—*who, in the name of God, could?* In the afternoon his master came home, bringing with him his brother and other friends. Jack's complaint was set before him by Mrs. Clifton and Heighton; he heard it in silence, repaired to the barn and got a rope, told Jack to cross his hands, took him a few steps from the house to a tree, tied him to it, and gave him THREE HUNDRED LASHES!!! Such was the power of the slaveholder, that his brother, his wife and daughter, and all, were silent, though she, slaveholder as she was, shed many tears. Yet this man was accounted one of the finest men in the place! Friend Johnson, this is but a single instance; one's heart fails to give utterance, and my pen refuses to record further. TRUMAN CASE.

P. S. You wanted I should give some account of meetings which we hold. This is my account:—John Jackson, a fugitive slave from Kentucky, and myself, held a glorious meeting in Edinburgh on Sunday last, (Oct. 7,) and we intend to continue the work. He carries on his person the mark of the whip, and large scars on his leg, where hounds have seized him, being set upon him by his master, James Morris, of Mayslick, Mason county, Ky., a deacon of the Disciple Church in that place. This man reads the Millennial Harbinger, published by A. Campbell, which pleads the cause of the '*current reformation*' of the nineteenth century!!

Yours, to expose wrong, T. C.
Randolph, Oct. 8, 1849.

From the National Era.

NATIONAL VILLANY.

The pastor of a colored church in Winchester, Va., having been over-excited during a revival of religion, became temporarily insane. He was sent to Staunton, where a cure was effected, and he received from his keepers a certificate that he was a Methodist preacher, a free man, had been under treatment for insanity, and been cured of it, and was then on his return to Winchester. Passing through Washington, he was taken up, carried before a magistrate, a local preacher in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and in disregard of his certificate, was committed to jail as a runaway slave. In due time he would have been sold into slavery to pay his jail fees, had not a citizen accidentally become informed of the case. He immediately procured copies of the man's free papers from the clerk of the court at Winchester, describing him, &c. Taking with him another respectable citizen, he went to the jail, and, in the presence of the jailor, examined the prisoner, whom he found to answer to the description in all points. They they then proceeded to the magistrate, (the brother preacher,) stated the facts, showed the papers, and bore their testimony. His answer was, that the papers were worth nothing; color was prima facie evidence of slavery; and he could not discharge him unless competent witnesses should be able to swear that the prisoner was the man whom the papers described as free. They indignantly left him, brought the prisoner before Judge Cranch, on a writ of habeas corpus, and the Judge, as might have been expected in one who understood law and justice, on examining his papers, instantly ordered his discharge. The Judge, we believe, never graduated as a local preacher.

WHAT HAS THE NORTH TO DO WITH SLAVERY?

The following letter from a Washington correspondent of the Tribune may possibly help some to answer the question.

WASHINGTON, Tuesday, Oct. 16th.

MR. GREELEY:—Facts are stubborn things. When Mr. Gott offered a resolution in the House of Representatives last winter, declaring Slavery in the District of Columbia to be a disgrace to us in the eyes of all Christendom, the Southern members held a meeting in the Senate Chamber, in secret, in the night time, and threatened to dissolve the Union. Is it any wonder that Northern men, with Northern hearts and Northern heads, should cry 'Amen' to the efforts of these Southern fanatics, when they see, in the very heart of the capital, on Pennsylvania avenue, between the Halls of Legislation and the Halls of Executive power, on God's holy day, a WAGON load of HUMAN CATTLE in the form and likeness of their Maker, chained and manacled to the vehicle like sheep in the butcher's cart, ready for the sacrifice of blood and toil? Such a scene occurred here on Sunday last, Oct. 14, year of our Lord 1849. The cries of the miserable wretches as they jotted over the rough pavement at a brisk trot, mingled mysteriously with light and careless voices of God's people returning from the cushioned seats and damask stool's where they are wont to worship the Most High, and pray for all mankind! The slave driver had been into Maryland to purchase his 'LIVE STOCK'—probably for the Southern market,—and was taking them to the shambles, to be inspected by the dealers in 'God's image cut in ebony!'—Oh, did it ever occur to the pious, Christian Slaveholder, or to any Slaveholding freeman who acknowledges himself accountable to a Hereafter, what a fearful distance lies between him and everlasting happiness! When Almighty Power and Retributive Justice go forth to lift the pall of darkness from the world, to unloose the shackles of the oppressed, and open the eyes of mankind to light and truth, how will some of the patriots and saints of to-day call upon the rocks and mountains to cover them from that unsleeping Eye which sees everywhere!

How long are we to suffer this reproach? Will Slavery continue in the District? Is there not one yet who has arisen with genius fit and courage sufficient to stab the monster to the heart, and rid us of the disgrace? Will men in Congress still truckle to power, and let the seal of everlasting shame and guilt be burned deep on their front—or is there light ahead?

'Oh, Liberty! can Man resign thee?'

A late number of the Wilmington, (Del.) 'Blue Hen's Chicken' says: 'On Saturday last, an affecting scene took place in the cars, about two miles below Newark, which was calculated to touch the heart of the most inhuman slaveholder in the country, were he present to witness it. It never fell to our lot to witness the horror and fear the poor negro has of slavery, as upon this occasion. Some three free colored persons were in the cars, and should have got out at the Newark depot, but on inquiring were informed that the next station was the place—they kept their seats for about one mile, when they learned they were going at a rapid rate to Maryland. Then a scene followed that we cannot find language to describe. One was a young woman, and the others a man, his wife and child. The young woman was so frightened, that sooner than run the risk of going to Maryland, she jumped from the platform; and next followed the man with his child, and were safe; his wife's turn came next, but observing her great danger, we seized her by the arm, and prevented her, assuring her that we would get her a pass to return when we arrived at Elkton. She implored us to let her go, stating that she would be arrested and sold into slavery. She fell on her knees and wrung her hands; a more painful or affecting sight we never beheld.

We mentioned the case of this poor woman to Charles Brooks, Esq., clerk of the Company, who, to his credit, immediately repaired to Mr. Wells, and had her provided for and sent back as soon as the train from Baltimore arrived.

We have witnessed many scenes, but in this instance the poor negroes' fears of being sold into slavery, and their love of freedom, surpassed all.

No doubt, had Mr. M'Creary, the slave-catcher, been present at the depot, he would have seized this unfortunate woman, who would probably have been sold into slavery, to be separated from her husband and children, for the sake of getting the amount which the odious law of the State allows.

We called on Mr. Vanderford, of the Cecil Democrat, and stated the above, who admitted that it was a hard case; but said it was the only way to prevent abolitionists from coming among them.

Has slavery so many horrors? Where is the Christian, the philanthropist or the republican, who can justify it? If there is a just God, what must be the doom of the slave-stealer and slave-driver?

PARLIAMENTARY AND FINANCIAL REFORM.

In the Hampshire (Eng.) Independent, of the 27th ultimo we find the proceedings of a great meeting held at Southampton, in the Victoria Rooms, to give an impetus to the new and radical movement for Parliamentary and Financial Reform, by the extension of the elective franchise generally. Eloquent speeches were made on the occasion by Mr. Wilcox, M. P., Sir Joshua Walmsley, George Thompson, M. P., and others, which were enthusiastically responded to. From Mr. Thompson's speech, in support of the following resolution, we make the subjoined extracts, which are pregnant with humor and encouragement:

'That this meeting rejoices in the belief that a good understanding and hearty union between the middle and working classes has at length been attained; and strenuously urges all who complain of any grievances in the national affairs, or abuses in Church and State, to concentrate their energies in the promotion of efficient Parliamentary Reform, as the only means by which good and cheap government, and equal justice to all classes of the people, may be secured.'

MR. GEORGE THOMPSON on rising was received with loud and prolonged applause. He spoke as follows:

The only drawback on the pleasure I experience in taking a share in this most interesting and momentous agitation is the absence of that opposition which I find to be almost a necessary stimulant to enable me to make a tolerable speech. (Laughter.) Time was, when but a few from amongst the constellation of bright eyes now around me, would have been sufficient to have roused my ambition, and to have called forth all my powers of eloquence: but since those days, I have lived in storms and conflicts, and have grown to feel it needful that there should be some tangible resistance to the proposition I have to advocate, in order that I may do justice to myself. Time was, when Southampton could supply the required excitement to one of my habits and temperament. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Seven years ago, there was in this town everything which I could desire in the way of stimulus: when, if I ascended a platform in the Long Rooms, my friend Mr. Lankester would rush forward with the inspiring news that the enemy was at the gates. (Loud laughter.) You are indeed *altering*, if you are not *mending*, your ways in Southampton; and instead of abuse and violence, and hired mobs, and broken benches and chandeliers, you give us, Radicals as we are, the warmest and kindest reception; you receive us with cordiality, with enthusiasm, and almost with affection; and you leave us nothing to do but to bask in your smiles and rejoice in your favor, and then go home and say, 'The people of Southampton are thoroughly with us.' Oh, for a little persecution! (Laughter and cheers.) A week ago, my honorable friend, Sir Joshua Walmsley, and I were in Aberdeen, the granite capital of the North of Scotland. We searched for opposition as with a candle, but we found it not—not a dog wagged his tongue in disapproval of our cause. (Laughter.) We had a meeting of 2,000 men, in a building branded with opprobrium, and regarded by the self-styled loyal and enlightened citizens as the rank and fetid hot-bed of sedition, disloyalty and treason—it was the Hall of the Chartists. How were we received? As the heralds of peace, of reconciliation, and of union. (Cheers.) What did we hear from the lips of the working men there assembled? Sentiments of the most generous and noble character—arguments the most logical and conclusive—and such eloquence as made my friend and I assume the attitude of teachable humility, and as impressed us with the conviction, that instead of our being needed in Aberdeen as the instructors of the working classes, those working classes could furnish missionaries capable of teaching the people of England, truth and doctrines which it would benefit them to learn. (Loud cheers.) Where, oh where, are our opponents? That we have opponents, there can be no doubt, but why do they not appear? Oh, we are too vulgar for them! The aristocratic Alexanders, who dread our designs, only contend with princes. (Laughter.) Their opposition speeches are delivered in chorus in the House of Commons, about half-past eleven at night, when assembled round the bar to stop a debate upon the Suffrage, or the Equalization of Taxation, they cry together, 'bah,' 'bah,' 'bah,' or 'divide,' 'divide,' 'divide.' (Laughter.) They are the young gentlemen whose names are on the doomsday book—who are abundantly satisfied with themselves, and things as they are—and who prefer Lady Lapdog's balls to all the debates upon taxation or electoral rights which it is in the power of Mr. Cobden or Mr. Hume to originate. (Loud laughter and cheers.) This is a battle of horny hands *versus* kid gloves—industrious independence *versus* aristocratic idleness and tax-eating dependence—a struggle between the toiling millions in fustian jackets and the pampered few, who, though they toil not, neither spin, yet fare sumptuously every day upon the spoils of a suffering people, and in their personal adornments emulate, in all but his wisdom, the glory of Solomon the great. (Loud laughter and cheers.) Oh, for a little opposition here to-night! Why, sir, on Valentine's day, 1842, we were well mobbed in your good town for venturing to call a meeting to consider the influence of the Corn Laws. In September, 1842, we were well beaten in an election contest, and liberalism was at a discount, and Chartism voted revolution. How are the times changed! We stand here in the autumn of 1849, and the only cause of quarrel that I can discover amongst the political and social philosophers of this famous borough, is the conduct of some aspirant for Municipal honors, who stands charged with the awful, the stupendous crime of having been seen in broad daylight playing a game of skittles. (This allusion to a charge of fondness for skittles brought against the Sheriff as a reason why he should not be Mayor, called forth immense laughter and applause.) Skittles! skittles! (Laughter.) Let us be serious, and moralise a little on this text given us by our opponents. Look at the conduct of men apart from those pursuits which have reference to another and a better world, and what, generally speaking, are they found to be engaged in? Why, a game at skittles. (Cheers.) Cast your eyes over Europe. What is it all about? What have the Metternichs, the Guizots, the Lamartines, the Mazzinis, the politicians, the statesmen, the warriors, the kings, and the Emperors of Europe, been about during the last two years? Playing at skittles. (Cheers.) What have the East India Company been doing the last eighty years in India? Playing a game at skittles. What are the Russells, Peels, Disraelis, and Humes, in the House of Commons, doing? Playing a game at skittles. What, and here I appeal to you, Mr. Sheriff, (laughter,) what is the Municipal contest now going on in Southampton but a game of skittles? (Hear, hear.) And what, let me ask, are we who have come down here to agitate in the cause of Parliamentary and Financial Reform engaged in? Why simply in playing a game at skittles, in which we wish you all to join us. (Cheers.) Look at the lower end of the alley. See! our opponents have set up an Established Church—Colonial Bishops—a standing army—a huge navy—a costly ordinance department—an extravagant civil list—a wasteful miscellaneous expenditure—nomination boroughs—a restricted franchise—a mock Reform Bill—and the doctrine of finality in the centre. What are we about? Why, summoning the strength of the nation to take into its hand the ball of an extended suffrage, and a regenerated Parliament, to knock them all down. (Tremendous cheering.) Lord John Manners and his party proposed a different game. He said—

'Let wealth and commerce, laws and learning die;
But leave us still our old nobility.'

This is not our doctrine. We aim at the elevation, the freedom, the happiness, and the rights of all; and we think they will be best promoted by extending the franchise to the great body of the people. (cheers.) I am delighted that it has fallen to my lot to speak to a resolution that expresses joy at the prospect of a cordial union between those classes that have hitherto been alienated from each other. Thus far, there are the most cheering indications of a speedy and complete reconciliation between these portions of the community. The conditions are honourable to both parties. The working classes have long maintained their right to more than our scheme proposes to achieve. I do not blame them for having done this; on the contrary, I have always sympathised with them, and voted for them. (Cheers.) The middle classes have been, many of them, indisposed to go even so far as the length of our present scheme of extending the suffrage, and would have stopped short at a *bona fide* household qualification. Now, happily for the success of our cause, the working classes are willing to concede the point of universal suffrage, and the middle classes are willing to unite with them for that liberal measure of the franchise which has been explained by my honorable friend Sir Joshua Walmsley. This union for a great common object cannot but be productive of the happiest results, and to witness its accomplishment will be a rich reward for our labors, irrespective of the political end at which we aim. It is time the members of this great community knew each other. The mutual dislike which has existed has been the fruit of ignorance. An intelligent speaker at Aberdeen illustrated the subject by telling us of a Highlander who one morning commenced an ascent to the top of a mountain, but was affrighted on his way by the appearance of some terrible object enveloped in the mist. He plucked up courage, however, and pushed on, and at last found that the object which had alarmed him was his own brother (Cheers.) So will it be with us, as soon as we cease to look at our fellow-man through the distorting mists of prejudice, and ignorance, and misrepresentation—as soon as we begin to treat him with kindness, respect, and a just acknowledgment of his rights. Don't be led away with the cry, 'The people are not fit for the suffrage.' Know them first, and judge for yourselves. Honor them and do them justice—till you do, you cannot judge either of their capacity or their dispositions. To say that the people are not fit to determine for themselves who shall represent them in the legislature, is to utter a libel upon them, and to insult the Being who created them (loud cheers.) There is a great deal of misapprehension on this same question of the suffrage. It is looked upon as the most important trust which a human being can exercise. I don't mean to undervalue it, or to lessen the responsibility of those who possess it; but I contend that the influence exerted every day upon society by its individual members, is far more important than the vote a man gives once in three, five, or seven years, in a polling booth. If the six millions who are shut out from the franchise were really unfit for its exercise, society would not hold together. You would not be safe in your beds. Your armies and police would not suffice to preserve order, or save property from spoliation. These men of whom you affect to stand in dread are the great majority, and you are every hour at their mercy: yet you fear them only in the capacity of voters. They are brave, obedient, and loyal soldiers—they are skilful, adventurous, and successful mariners—they are ingenious and matchless artisans—they are trusted and esteemed managers—they are sober and thrifty laborers. As heads of families, they are prudent and thoughtful—as husbands, affectionate and faithful—as parents, watchful and attentive—as friends, constant and true—as the recipients of kindness, most grateful and recollective. They are the lovers of order—they are the defenders of property—they are the monarch's best body guard,—the master's best police; and yet you doubt whether, displaying all these virtues, performing all these duties, and possessing all these talents, they are fit for the franchise (Cheers.) You have allowed yourselves to be prejudiced and led away by those whose fear is, not that the people are too ignorant to be entrusted with political power, but too intelligent to tolerate, if they had it, the monstrous systems of injustice and malversation which are sources of profit and patronage to those who defend the present state of things. Let me ask you if there is anything in the existing mode of managing elections which would impress a stranger with the belief, that in this country the elective franchise is looked upon as a holy, solemn, and highly-responsible trust. Look at the conduct of the scheming and unprincipled agent—the fawning, flattering, mouthing candidate—the slavish, soul-less tenant-at-will—the haughty dictatorial man of wealth—the obsequious and pliant tradesman—the corrupt bribe-taking freeman—the greedy beer-shop keeper, and his thirsty customers—with all the adjuncts, aids, and appliances of an ordinary election. Look at these, and tell me if matters would be likely to be worse if the great body of the people were enfranchised; if the vote was taken under the shelter of the ballot; if there were no nomination or purchaseable boroughs; and if the influence of cliques, clubs, and parliamentary agents was abolished for ever (hear. hear.)

We hear, and read, and see much of the doings of tyrants, and despots, and oppressors; but why? It is because the genius of liberty is abroad. It is because the fire of freedom is burning in the hearts of men, and moving them to resist the encroachments of despots, whether kingly, priestly or republican, upon their natural and inalienable rights. It is because the solar ray of freedom has fallen upon the stagnant waters of society, that the noxious reptiles that infest the world have become visible. The black deeds of Austria are seen amidst the light shed upon them by the bright and glowing stars of freedom that have risen in Hungary.. (Cheers.) You cheer at the mention of Hungary. (Renewed cheering.) Well, if you would aid the cause of Freedom abroad, cherish it at home. (Cheers.) Advance it here—extend it here—give it to those who are without it here—make England 'all-hallowed ground'—enfranchise the cottage, as well as the mansion, and let there not remain to be a living reproach to us, a single man who can justly say, 'I am debarred of my political rights.' This is the way to spread the cause of freedom through the world—to exalt our country's name and influence—to strike terror into the souls of women-whipping demons, and to cause the heart of the struggler for freedom to take hope and inspiration, and go onward in the conflict. Long may our sea-girdled isles be the refuge, the asylum, the home of the persecuted exile from all other lands. (Loud cheers.) Welcome, ye martyrs for freedom, whether ye come from the banks of the Danube, the Mississippi, the Tiber, or the Seine; (cheers)—whether the swarthy Ethiope, stolen on the Gambia and escaped from slavery on the Potomac, or the brave Hungarian, flying from the bloody talons of the Austrian eagle and the deadly embrace of the Russian bear. (Tremendous cheers.) Long may England's arms be extended to receive the weary wanderer from the battle-field of freedom! But, that it may be so, let us look well to the state of things at home. We have plenty of friends to despotism here. For myself, I assure you my heart is in the cause; I have enlisted for the war. I am willing to be the humblest, but I am resolved to be amongst the most zealous in the fight that lies before us; and in bidding you farewell for labors in far distant parts of our kingdom, let me hope that we shall hear good tidings from Southampton, and that the promise of to-night will be redeemed by works worthy the enthusiasm you have displayed, and the good name your past efforts in the cause of freedom have won for you. (Tremendous cheers.)

SOME FRUITS OF A PRO-SLAVERY RELIGION.

A Washington correspondent of the Cleveland True Democrat, describing an interview with Thos. C. McDonald, Esq., U. S. Consul at St. Catharines for some months past, and bearer of despatches from the American legation at Rio de Janeiro to our Government at Washington, says:—

'What interested us most deeply was, his description of the extent and horrors of slavery and the slave trade on that coast!

'Not less than thirty or forty thousand are brought there annually, and the mass of them in American vessels, under the American flag, on the African coast, disguised elsewhere.

'And what is worse—these vessels are owned and controlled by *Americans (?)—citizens of New England!*

'Ay—and what is more than all—*by professing Christians of New England!* Yes, I write it with shame and sorrow—one vessel which he saw and named to us, was owned and controlled by the Rev. Mr. ——, *a Baptist minister in the village of* ——, *in Massachusetts!*'

'Well,' said Mr. McD., 'slavery is a shame and disgrace to our nation. We are the derision of other nations—the English taunt us for it.'

Surely, the great Doctors of New England Theology, who have been teaching for years that 'slavery is no violation of the Christian faith or Church,' and that 'Christianity not only permits, but sometimes *requires* its believers to become slaveholders,' may now congratulate themselves that their seed is bringing forth fruit after its kind.

How the tender and enduring human love shown in the following incident, related by Mr. McDonald, contrasts with the hateful and hollow selfishness of those pretended 'Christians' and 'Christian Ministers' of New England:—

'One Sabbath, while a group of colored people were assembled in front of a church (Catholic)—an old negro of shabby appearance, carrying a bundle, approached and made some inquiry. A middle-aged man rose to reply. Both stood and gazed at each other, when the other exclaimed, '*Mea Pia*,' '*Mea Pia!*' and they fell in each other's embrace, then sprang up and leaped and shouted. Then the younger kissed the elder from his feet to his face, and leaped, and rolled, and shouted, giving every possible expression of joy!

Said Mr. D., 'I could not but weep, and ask myself—*Has the negro* no feeling in common with other men?'—*Pennsylvania Freeman.*

The Liberator.

BOSTON, NOVEMBER 23, 1849.

No Union with Slaveholders!

NON-RESISTANCE.

The annual meeting of the New England Non-Resistance Society was held in the Freeman Place Chapel, in this city, on Saturday and Sunday last. We are unable to give any report of the discussions, but the series of resolutions which were adopted by the Society, and which are officially recorded below, will enable those who were not present to judge of the character of the proceedings. No elaborate or formal speeches were made on the occasion, and hence there was much plain speaking, and but little rhetorical eloquence. As usual—and it is an example, which, as a general rule, we should like to see widely imitated—all persons were publicly invited to give free utterance to their sentiments, whether favorable or adverse to non-resistance. It is worthy of notice, that none but professed abolitionists took any part in the proceedings, whether pro or con. Neither the League of Universal Brotherhood nor the American Peace Society was represented at the meeting by any speaker. Much disappointment was felt at the absence of the estimable President of the Society, ADIN BALLOU, who so beautifully and powerfully represents its principles in his life and teachings; and, as he was detained by a severe attack of sickness, much sympathy was felt for him. The absence, also, of our beloved friend HENRY C. WRIGHT was deeply regretted; but it is consoling to know that, in whatever part of the great field of humanity he may be laboring, he ever carries the white banner of non-resistance in his hands, and is busy in beating swords into ploughshares and spears into pruning-hooks.

In meetings where unlimited freedom of discussion is extended to all present, it is to be expected there will be not only great diversities of opinion, but some things uttered or propositions advanced not in good taste or in the best spirit; but for these, no one is to be held responsible, except the individual who errs in this manner. The Non-Resistance Society, in offering a free platform to its opponents as well as to its friends, sanctions no man's speech, but only thus signifies how willing it is to be searched through and through, and how strong it feels is the foundation on which it is based. If any who are thus invited to participate in the discussions run into any extravagance of language or manner, revolting to the taste or moral sense of any of the listeners, this can be remedied, not by destroying freedom of discussion, but by a better utterance on the part of wiser or better men. For what it officially sanctions in the shape of principles, doctrines, resolutions, and the like, hold the Society responsible; but not for refusing to apply the gag or the padlock. We must all learn to be patient and serene in the conflict of mind with mind, remembering that the pillars of the universe cannot be shaken by any demonstration of folly or fanaticism. They who are in the right, or mean to be in the right, are usually much more calm and courageous than those who are perversely in the wrong. It is written, 'Great peace have they who love thy law, and nothing shall offend them.' Again it is written, 'The righteous are as bold as a lion; but the wicked flee when no man pursueth.'

We make these remarks, because there was some fluttering in the meeting, occasionally, by those not used to free meetings, in consequence of what fell from the lips of some of the speakers, who were not members of the Society, though subscribing to the doctrine of non-resistance. Let us learn to tolerate and even appreciate dissent, where it places the dissenter in a lean minority or an isolated position, and subjects him to the certainty of being regarded as a dangerous heretic. Possibly he is right, and we are in error; and it may do us all good to be startled occasionally by a bold or harsh utterance.

The discussions, as a whole, were earnest, serious, and edifying; and we doubt not that a salutary impression was made upon candid and reflecting minds—that the wrongfulness of war, under all circumstances, was more clearly seen by some than ever, as also the inconsistency and criminality of upholding a war-making government, on the part of those who believe all war to be morally indefensible. Those who defended the rightfulness of war, pleaded for it only in cases of extreme emergency; just as they plead, who are willing that slavery should be denounced as a system, but who deny that slaveholding is a *malum in se*.

Some of our beloved Hopedale friends cheered us by their presence and words. The remarks of W. H. Fish and D. S. Whitney, and the spirit which they manifested, were worthy of the sacred cause which they so ably advocated. Their appeals went home to the understanding, the conscience, and the heart, and most assuredly were not made in vain. Some interesting statements were made by E. D. Draper, respecting the experience of the Hopedale Community since its organization eight years ago on the principle of non-resistance—all going to show that the possession of that spirit which is ever ready to return good for evil, and which utterly repudiates all carnal weapons and all appeals to the magistracy for protection or redress, ensures tranquillity of mind, and the safety of property and life, far beyond any thing of an opposite nature—that spirit 'having the promise of the life that now is, as well as of that which is to come.'

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NEW ENGLAND NON-RESISTANCE SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of the New-England Non-Resistance Society was held in the Chapel of the Rev. J. F. Clarke, Freeman Place, Boston, commencing Saturday morning, at 10 o'clock.

The meeting was called to order by Wm. L. Garrison.

The President, Adin Ballou, being absent on account of sickness, Effingham L. Capron was called to the chair.

On motion, Eliza J. Kenny, of Salem, was appointed Secretary, pro tem.

On motion, John M. Spear of Boston, and Lewis Ford of Abington, were appointed a committee on finance.

On motion of W. L. Garrison,

Voted, That all persons present, or who may be present, be invited to participate in the discussions.

Wm. L. Garrison offered the subjoined resolutions:—

1. Resolved, That war being in its nature revengeful, implacable, and murderous, with whatever motives or for whatever object waged,—and involving in suffering and destruction, as it necessarily does, the innocent with the guilty,—to talk of a justifiable war is a logical absurdity and positive immorality.

2. Resolved, That if 'self-preservation is the first law of nature,' then as war is the destroyer and not the saviour of men, it is forbidden by that law in all cases.

3. Resolved, That liberty needs not for its defence or safety the weapons of tyranny,—the sword, the musket, the cannon,—but should repudiate them as sinful in their use and enslaving in their tendency.

4. Resolved, That forts, arsenals, armories, military academies, an army, navy, and militia, a national flag, are symbols of barbarism, cowardice, and conscious insecurity—incompatible with true liberty, equality and prosperity—the devourers of the substance of the people—blotches and sores upon the body politic, indicative of a deep-seated organic disease—the props and instruments of tyranny, usurpation, and misrule—the foes of human brotherhood.

5. Resolved, That national disarmament, and the friendly arbitration of all international differences, should be advocated with zeal and prosecuted with energy by all the friends of universal peace.

6. Resolved, That a government which requires its subjects to fight, or to be disciplined in the art of war, is a government not to be obeyed in that particular; as we ought to obey God rather than man,—as his children are peace-makers, not peace-breakers,—as he hath called us to peace, not war,—as he commands us to follow peace with all men, and to put on bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering; forbearing one another, and forgiving one another.

7. Resolved, That war is to peace what slavery is to liberty, what sin is to holiness—at all times and under all circumstances, indefensible and criminal.

8. Resolved, That those who maintain, that the Constitution of the United States is 'a covenant with death and an agreement with hell,' on account of its pro-slavery guaranties, and therefore ought not any longer to be countenanced by voting or taking office under it, are to be commended for their moral integrity, consistency and heroism, as abolitionists;—but the same declaration is true of the Constitution respecting its provisions empowering Congress to declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and provide for an army and navy; and the same moral obligation rests upon the friends of peace to repudiate that instrument of blood, and to use as their motto, 'No union with warriors or war-makers.'

9. Resolved, That allegiance to any government ceases to be a duty when it is in any particular organically sinful, at war with justice, and hostile to human freedom.

10. Resolved, That the Prince of peace is not the Prince of war; that the gospel of peace is not the gospel of war; that the kingdom of peace is not the kingdom of war;—therefore, those who in any way engage in or justify war ought not to profess to be the followers of Christ.

11. Resolved, That the bulwarks of the war system, like those of slavery, in this country, are the Church and Clergy; and hence are the first to be assailed and overthrown.

12. Whereas, one of the most odious and intolerable acts of a government is a forceful interference in matters of religious faith and conscience, as pertaining to the worship of God; therefore,

Resolved, That we cordially unite with those who are protesting against the existence, and calling for the repeal of the penal laws in this Commonwealth, enforcing the observance of the first day of the week as the Sabbath or Lord's day; believing those laws to be unconstitutional, and a denial of the right of every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience.

Discussed by Wm. L. Garrison, Thomas Haskell of Gloucester, Wm. H. Fish of Hopedale, James N. Buffum of Lynn, Thankful Southwick of Boston, Lewis Ford of Abington, and Mrs. Fifield of Weymouth.

Treasurer's report read and accepted.

Charles K. Whipple, Wm. L. Garrison and Robert F. Wallcut were appointed a nominating committee.

Adjourned to meet at 2 1-2 o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Met agreeably to adjournment.

The resolutions before the meeting were read and further discussed by Wm. L. Garrison, D. S. Whitney, Wm. H. Fish, E. D. Draper, James N. Buffum, and J. M. Spear.

Adjourned to meet at 7 o'clock.

EVENING SESSION.

Convened, pursuant to adjournment.

The annexed resolutions from C. K. Whipple were offered, and the resolutions already presented were read, and further discussed by D. S. Whitney, Wm. L. Garrison, Walter Channing, of Boston, Wm. H. Fish, Edmund Quincy.

Whereas, the intentional, unauthorized taking of human life is murder; and whereas, the Creator has never authorized any of the family of mankind to kill each other; therefore,

Resolved, That the intentional killing of a human being is murder in every case, whether perpetrated by the knife of the bravo, the shot of the soldier, or the cord of the hangman.

Resolved, also, that as the bravo fails to be justified by the compact made with, or the reward promised by, his employer, so the soldier and the hangman fail to be justified by the instigation of the captain in one case, and of the judge and jury in the other.

Adjourned to meet to-morrow, at 2 1-2 o'clock, P. M., at Freeman Place Chapel.

SUNDAY AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Society met agreeably to adjournment.

After singing, the resolutions before the meeting at the time of adjournment were read by W. L. Garrison, and discussed by D. S. Whitney, —— Shaw of Vermont, Seward Mitchell, and Wm. L. Garrison.

Adjourned to meet at 6 1-2 o'clock.

EVENING SESSION.

Met pursuant to adjournment.

The President, Effingham L. Capron, in the chair.

The committee on nominations made the subjoined report, and the persons therein named were duly elected:—

President—ADIN BALLOU.

Vice-Presidents—Peter Libby, Maine; Luther Melendy, New Hampshire; Rowland T. Robinson, Vermont; Samuel W. Wheeler, Rhode Island; Jonathan Leonard, Connecticut; Effingham L. Capron, Massachusetts.

Corresponding Secretary—Henry C. Wright.

Recording Secretary—William H. Fish.

Treasurer—Charles K. Whipple.

Executive Committee—W. L. Garrison, Robert F. Wallcut, John M. Spear, Edmund Quincy, Abby Kelley Foster, Abby H. Price, Lucy H. Ballou.

The resolutions were again read, and the discussion continued by Wm. H. Fish, and James F. Clarke.

The following additional resolution was offered by Wm. L. Garrison:—

Resolved, That while we regard the late Peace Congress at Paris as a significant sign of the times, we feel it a duty to express our surprise and regret, that the members of that Congress should have consented to meet with a padlock on their lips, and bereft of the liberty of speech and conscience, in compliance with the requisition of Louis Napoleon and his despotic government, namely, that they should make neither the state of France nor the affairs of Europe the subject of discussion; but we are not surprised that, having complied with this degrading and ignominious condition, the French government should have consented to let their luggage pass through the custom-house without charge or examination, and ordered the fountains at Versailles to be played at considerable expense for their special gratification.

Discussion continued by —— Kemp, C. Stearns, C. List, Robert F. Rogers, and W. L. Garrison.

The resolutions were adopted *nem. con.*

Adjourned, *sine die.*

EFFINGHAM L. CAPRON, *President.*
ELIZA J. KENNY, *Sec'ry.*

N. E. NON-RESISTANCE SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT WITH CHARLES K. WHIPPLE, TREASURER.

Received.	
Funds collected at annual meeting, 1848,	$39 51
E. D. Draper—balance on old account,	0 68
" sale of tracts,	1 26
	$41 45
Expended.	
Hall for annual meeting in 1848,	$22 50
Advertising " "	5 16
	27 66
Cash remaining in the treasury,	13 79
	$41 45

CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

We again insert the following memorial to the Legislature, for the purpose of stimulating the friends of religious liberty to active efforts in its behalf:—

TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF MASSACHUSETTS:

The undersigned, inhabitants of Massachusetts, respectfully ask of the Legislature the repeal of all laws in this Commonwealth, enforcing the observance of a day of the week as 'the Sabbath,' or 'the Lord's day'—

1. Because there exists among the people an equally honest and conscientious difference of opinion as to the holiness of particular days, and the mode of their observance;

2. Because it is contrary to the fundamental idea of a republican government, that conscience should be coerced into conformity by law, or that special rights and privileges should be given to a particular religious belief;

3. Because the question of the holiness of days,—like that of public worship, the support of the clergy, the observance of ordinances,—should be left in its decision to individual conscience, and made to depend on its own merits, without the intervention of the State; and,

4. Because, as it has been found safe, politic and beneficial to allow the people to decide for themselves in all other religious matters, there is no reason to doubt that the same good results would follow the repeal of the Sabbatical laws.

JOHN VAN BUREN.

This adroit politician, son of the magician Martin Van Buren—'a chip of the old block'—has a letter in the Boston Republican, correcting certain errors in the report of his recent speech at the Free Soil meeting in Faneuil Hall, by the editor of that paper. Mark the following paragraph from it:—

'I did not avow my determination 'never to go into a National Convention with slaveholders.' *I have never objected to a man on the ground of his being a slaveholder.* I said that so long as the Southern States made pro-slavery the sole test of eligibility to office, it was obvious that no National Democratic Convention could be held, for the basis of a National Convention is a willingness and an obligation to support the nominee of the Convention, whoever he may be.'

This is the length and breadth of Mr. Van Buren's 'free soil' principles. He objects to the nomination of no man-stealer as a candidate for democratic (?) suffrages; he only objects to the making of perpetual slavery a national democratic test. It is manifest that he is willing that the Southern wing of democracy should be pro-slavery to any extent locally; only the Northern wing must be left free to be anti-slavery locally, according to circumstances; while the party itself must agree to 'run for luck.' Bad luck to all such compromisers!

THE STATE ELECTION. The result of the election for Governor, in all the towns in the Commonwealth—unofficially, and therefore somewhat inaccurately—is, in round numbers, for Briggs, 54,000; Boutwell, 31,200; Phillips, 26,700. The Free Soil vote has decreased about 9,500—the Whig about 7,500—while the Democratic vote has gained about 6000. The re-election of Gov. Briggs by the Legislature is sure, though by the popular vote he is in a minority of some 1500. As all the parties in Massachusetts were committed in favor of the Wilmot Proviso, the Slave Power may count all the votes given for these parties as on the side of 'free soil' for California and New Mexico.

THE FRIEND OF YOUTH. We have received the first number of a very beautiful and promising youth's paper edited by Mrs. Margaret L. Bailey, wife of the editor of the National Era, and published at Washington. It is a neatly printed paper of eight pages, illustrated, and containing contributions by the editor, by T. S. Arthur, Mrs. Southworth, and Mrs. Clark, all approved writers for youth. This new paper is a monthly, and the price is 50 cents a year. It promises to advocate Freedom, Peace, Temperance, and all good causes.

A THRILLING TEMPERANCE TALE. Having been requested to read a Temperance Tale, by MARIA LAMAS, entitled 'The Glass; or the Trials of Helen More,' published in Philadelphia, we have done so, and willingly attest to its pathos and power. Ten thousand copies have already been sold, and if ten times that number could be circulated through the land, it would be an excellent investment of money for the promotion of the temperance cause. What may follow from a single glass of intoxicating liquor is here depicted in appalling colors. The story was taken down from the lips of a lady recently deceased, who, while living, was a prominent and earnest member of one of our most efficient temperance societies. 'The facts, the incidents, and the main details, have not been changed. It is substantially her own story, and *a true one.*' Copies for sale at 21 Cornhill.

THE COMPROMISE GAME. The Washington correspondent of the New York Journal of Commerce (see another column) discloses a plot for the adjustment of the slavery question as pertaining to California and New Mexico, which, it is declared, will be satisfactory to Mr. Clay and Mr. Calhoun. It seems the old Missouri game is to be played over again. The new territories are to be divided between Liberty and Slavery, so

MONITUS TO MONITOR.

The second leading point of your first article, and the heading o it, was the call to 'come out'—'Come out of the Church!' In my reply, I showed that the only objection to this appeal was, that so far, at least, as the liberal denominations, to which I particularly referred, were concerned, it would be in a great measure, if not entirely, unavailing. Few, if any, of those for whose benefit it was particularly designed, (if you meant the liberal denominations, and if you meant the others—the illiberal, or Orthodox—there were other reasons for coming to the same conclusion,) would pay any attention to it, or care any thing about it. At least, I was acquainted with many who would *not*,—good abolitionists, too. This was my opinion. I gave it as such; and I gave it in a very friendly way; but I was confident in it. If, however, you thought differently, if you were convinced that you were right, and I was wrong, and saw any chance of ultimate success by continued effort, I advised you to keep on trying; but *I* was convinced it would be a bootless endeavor. It might be much to be regretted that it should be so; it might be a great pity that people were so stupid or perverse that they would not exchange their folly for your wisdom; it might argue an insufferable degree of vanity and arrogance for them to presume to imagine that they were the best judges in their own case of what it was best for them to do; but, nevertheless, I was convinced they would be guilty of that vanity of arrogance. I was persuaded that these good men and true—these 'honest men still in the Church; true-hearted men, with living, breathing souls'—knew what they were about. The very fact of their being such would, indeed, *a priori*, induce the supposition that they had good and sufficient reasons for the course they took. I did not pretend to be in their confidence; nevertheless, I would venture, without their knowledge and consent, but in their behalf, to state what I presumed one, at least, of those reasons was, viz., that they thought, whether wisely or not, that they could do more good—ay, and to the anti-slavery cause, too—from where they stood, than from where you would have them stand. They would labor *in* the Church, while you and others labored *out*; and thus they would 'come out,' in *their* way and sense of the word, though not in *yours*, with their testimony and efforts against this great national sin and curse.

I mentioned, furthermore, that I was confirmed in this conclusion by the result of that prediction which I recollected N. P. Rogers made years ago respecting John Pierpont; that in less than a year from that time, (if that was the precise term of grace,) he would leave the Church. But John Pierpont, I observed, was still in the Church and ministry, as fast as ever, and was likely to be till his death. Nay, he has just left one Unitarian Society for another—Rev. Mr. Stetson's—who has also left his for another. I mentioned several other warm friends of the cause—decided and prominent abolitionists, and acknowledged to be such by abolitionists—who were still in the Church and in the ministry; and, among others, Rev. A. R. Pope, of Kingston.

Whereupon, you start up and point exultingly to an exception in the case of Mr. Pope. But here is your triumphant parenthesis and exception:—

'[You will excuse my omission of A. R. Pope; he is not now of the Church; he is a living freeman. Will not "Monitus" rejoice with me? Friend Pope gave his "farewell sermon" on Sunday, the 15th inst. Well may abolitionists rejoice when a strong man, and a true man, like him, throws off his fetters; though, in his case, the fetters were never strong enough to cripple his mighty soul.]'

When, lo and behold! in the very next number of the Liberator, *out comes* Mr. Pope himself, and *says he's no notion of coming out.* Here is *his* note, too:

'FRIEND GARRISON:—You will excuse me if I trouble you to say, in your next paper, that "Monitor's" idea of freedom and freemen is not precisely my idea; *and that*, in relinquishing a class of duties, perhaps only temporarily, on account of ill-health, I should be very sorry to have him, or any one, receive the impression that I had been "in bonds to any man"; or, as his complimentary sentences imply, have sought a freedom which a generous people had not been disposed or willing to concede.

'Very truly yours, A. R. POPE.
'Kingston, Aug. 24, 1849."

Yes, this '*strong man, and true man*,' ('I thank thee, Jew, for teaching me that word,') who is 'not now of the Church,' it seems, but 'a living freeman,' after having preached his 'farewell sermon' (only think of this!) 'on Sunday, the 15th inst.,' 'comes out' (indeed, and once, at least,) and tells us that these same dreaded Church-forged and fastened fetters *are no fetters at all!*—that he never found them such;—that he always felt himself at liberty to do as he pleased in the ministry;—that he had never been 'in bonds to any man';—that, in preaching this 'farewell sermon on Sunday, the 15th instant,' he claimed and sought no freedom which 'a generous people had not been disposed or willing to concede'; and, in fact, proves, yes, this strong and true man does prove, (O, cruel!) that, so far, at least, as his individual case, so triumphantly appealed to, is to be taken into consideration, this same bugbear enslaving influence of the Church is really nothing but a bugbear—is no enslaving influence at all, and has no existence save in the imagination of some such folks as Monitor. 'Think of that, Master Brook!' 'Call you that backing your friends?' This, I must confess, was more than I had looked for, in my most sanguine moments, on my side. It was assistance from an unexpected quarter. It was a triumphant overthrow of your position, and confirmation of mine, which I had not anticipated. And, to crown all, I have just read, in the Christian Register, the following notice, which I commend to your attention:—

'Rev. Mr. Pope, late of Kingston, has accepted the invitation of the Society at Somerville.'

☞ '*I told you so*'!!

MONITUS.

THE BONDMEN IN CANADA.

AMHERSTBURG, Nov. 11, 1849.

EDITOR LIBERATOR:

May we at this Mission say a word to the lovers of liberty and laborers in its cause? I wish to criticise my friends who class themselves under the respective banners of the Liberator and Anti-Slavery Standard, or else let an explanation be given. We are, some of us in Canada, readers of these papers, when we can get them, and lovers of that pure spirit of unadulterated liberty they breathe; though being *missionaries*, we cannot take them. This is a portion of the reward of being willing to go into *all* the world and carry the gospel, that we shall be too poor to take papers, and share such comforts as those have who forever refuse to go! Be it so. Canada missionaries will never retrace their steps, I trust, though it is even so.

But, particularly, I wish to state, that eleven years I have stood on this contested field, amid prejudice and aristocracy, among earth's outcasts, telling the story of the cross, clothing the naked, panting fugitive, as he makes his way from the 'bottomless pit' to this place. As this is the main landing of the pilgrims, after graduating from the institutions of Southern love, under the tuition of the holiest of fathers except the Pope,—as our expenses at such a station must be quite considerable, I greatly wonder that no interest is taken in the bondman in Canada. I know we say he can take care of himself, only unbind him; but many are nearly worn out before you get off their chains; many must reach us sick, or much in need of good care, at least for a time. Also whole families reach us, needing clothing, provision, a home for a few days, until arrangements can be made for life; and all this amid strangers, the prejudiced. Some reach us, ready to be delivered. It can scarcely be expected that those here can take care not only of themselves, but clothe and bed whole families, and divide with all who come to this place. Our people are fully able to maintain themselves, that is, they have productive energies enough, plenty of strength, many of them, but they need teaching, schooling in the science of life, as *we* have been. They cannot be got free and turned at large to face a world of robbing, character-blasting prejudice, and not suffer more or less, long. They are driven from schools in the States; they are no better here. If they go in schools by themselves, their portion of public money is allowed; but Canadians will not teach them, so that your teachers from the States must do it, and aid them also about getting land, and various other ways.

Now, in reading in your papers of your Fairs, your appropriations, I never read of any thing done for the missionaries of *Canada*, the most despised of all this class of volunteers for the Lord. You well know that we are unclean, inasmuch as we labor among so offensive a people; and many wealthy, delicate people and greatly refined congregations would not give aid to those laboring in so unclean a cause.

What then are we to do? Seven or eight missionaries are here, brought by my influence. I expect mainly to see that they are clothed through friends, and may I not hope in part by efforts of your denomination of anti-slavery men? Last month, three of us lay sick here, and two were not expected for a time to live. Yesterday, another teacher and preacher of the gospel was brought home, with whom I watched part of the night. We have received at our house and clothed more than fifty from the South, boarding or hiring it done; and when sick, or mothers ready to be sick, as before mentioned, we hire nurses, a room, find provision, and aid until work can be obtained by the husband, or until they get well. As abolitionists and as missionaries, we do not wish this people to take care of us and themselves too. We do not think it *best*, and besides, our friends in the States are both able and willing not only to sustain us, but help us to make the slave comfortable on his first arrival. We need about $400 this fall. We are $100 in debt. We greatly need better accommodations; a house that will cost $250 or $300. As laborers in this field, is it too much to ask to be made in some measure comfortable? Otherwise, we may abandon the field. Bro. Lewis Hayden, whom we know, and who knows us, and whom our friends know, is willing to go round and see what our fellow-helpers will do for us. Our circumstances demand promptness, as we wish the building to stand where we now have an old leaky shed, damp, unhealthy; and our females have a right to complain, besides our being open to be plundered nightly. Brother Garrison I know would consent to receive donations and acknowledge them in the Liberator; and may the Lord guide us all.

ISAAC J. RICE,
Among the Fugitives.

TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF BARNSTABLE COUNTY.

DEAR FRIENDS:

The season is now rapidly approaching when much profitable labor may be expended in this county for the slave's redemption from his dreadful bondage. For the next three or four months, the ears of almost our entire population will be open to the perishing bondman. Shall his cause be pleaded in their ears? *There are hands willing and ready to work.* The 'sinews' *only* of this moral war are needed.

An Anti-Slavery Convention is to be held at Hyannis on the 8th and 9th of December. Let it be the largest and most enthusiastic ever held on the Cape.

We would suggest that a County Anti-Slavery Society be formed at this Convention, for the purpose of carrying on a thorough and systematic agitation of our great cause. Funds can easily be raised, if the friends of the bondman will only contribute as liberally for his emancipation, as his enemies do for his enslavement. Shall it be done? We wait for your response at the coming Convention.

LORING MOODY,
JOSHUA H. ROBBINS.

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR.

As we are approaching the period set apart to the labors and responsibilities of another Faneuil Hall Bazaar, it becomes incumbent on us to communicate with those friends to whom so much of our previous success has been owing, and on whom we have hitherto relied with a confidence that has never been misplaced.

We do not dwell on the claims of the cause, or on the importance of the Bazaar as an instrumentality in carrying it forward, knowing that the convictions of those whom we address are identical with our own.

Relying on this knowledge, we ask, as the most efficient help that can be rendered us, that the same friends who took charge last year of the decorations for Faneuil Hall, would allow us to depend on their services for the coming occasion; and that the same friends who provided so liberally the materials for decoration, would allow us once again to trust to their kindness for the necessary supply. They best know the kind and quantity of evergreen that is requisite, and will, by complying with this request of the Committee, save them much care and perplexity.

The same arrangements as heretofore respecting the Refreshment Table and Refreshment Room will demand the help which has always been so liberally rendered by our country friends. Let each of them make at least an exertion equal to those of last year, and as much greater as circumstances may permit.

We would suggest to Female Anti-Slavery Societies, Sewing Circles, and the friends generally, that our supply of useful articles for the Bazaar, in general, hardly equals the demand. Articles of taste and ornament are profusely furnished by our foreign friends, but in regard to various useful articles which could very easily be furnished, we have found a deficiency. The following are very desirable:—Gentlemen's and Children's Knit Stockings, Mittens and Woollen Gloves, Gentlemen's Collars, Infants' Clothing carefully made. Any and every contribution will be thankfully received, but we have thought it best to make the above suggestion for the benefit of such as, desiring to aid us, are yet hardly aware of the best way.

Several of our Committee are now resident in Paris, and will be most happy to execute any commission in aid of the Bazaar. Money contributed for this purpose may be forwarded to A. W. WESTON, Weymouth, and should be sent immediately, that the articles may be in season for the Paris box.

In behalf of the Committee,
A. W. WESTON.

LET THE HALL BE CROWDED. We call the attention of all those in the city and vicinity who are in favor of equal educational rights and privileges, without regard to complexion or condition, and whose sympathies are with our colored follow-citizens in their struggle for the abolition of the Smith School on account of its caste, to the advertisement of an Elocutionary and Musical Entertainment which is to be given at Washingtonian Hall, Bromfield street, on Tuesday evening next, for the promotion of this laudable object. Funds are much needed at the present time, and every one can cast in his mite, and at the same time be more than compensated by a rich mental and musical feast.

CIRCULATE IT. Those who are desirous of finding something for perusal or circulation, recently from the press, on the subject of slavery, are advised to call at the bookstore of Bela Marsh, 25 Cornhill, and purchase copies of 'An Address on Slavery, delivered in Danvers, Mass., by Daniel Foster.' It will do good execution.

☞ If you would be gratified—delighted—go and see the Panorama of the Bible at Boylston Hall.

ARRIVAL OF THE AMERICA.

The British mail steamer America reached her dock at 10 o'clock on the morning of the 17th inst., at New York, having made the trip from Halifax in the unprecedented short period of 48 hours.

The new French Ministry is formed entirely of persons attached to the majority of the Legislative Assembly. The general opinion seems to be that the unexpected proceeding of the President is not the act of a man who believes his power likely to be of short duration; but by others, particularly the Republican party, it is regarded as the first step towards a *coup d'etat*.

The latest advices seem to justify the hope, that the Austrian thirst for Hungarian blood is nearly slaked; and that an end to the revolting butcheries perpetrated in defiance of the rights of civilized nations was approaching.

We have advices from Calcutta to the 7th of September, Hong Kong to the 30th of August. Peace reigns generally throughout India. The Punjaub continues quiet, not even the breath of a rumor is heard to the contrary. Moolraj, it appears, is to be transported for life.

The news from China is important. The Governor of Macao has been murdered by the Chinese, and a great sensation has, in consequence, been created.

DEATH OF THE EARL OF ALBERMARLE. We have to announce the demise of the above venerable nobleman, who formerly held the high office of Master of the Horse to his late Majesty William IV., and also to the present Queen. His lordship expired at Quidenham Hall, Norfolk, on Tuesday last, in his 78th year.

FRANCE.

Our intelligence from Paris reaches down to the evening of Nov. 1st.

M. Dupin communicated to the Assembly, on the 3d October, the following message from the President of the Republic:—

'Monsieur le President,—Under the grave circumstances in which we are placed, the accord which ought to reign amongst the different bodies of the State cannot be maintained, unless by the existence of a mutual confidence, and unless they explain themselves sincerely to each other. In order to give an example of that sincerity, I come forward now to state the reasons which have determined me to change the Ministry, and to separate myself from men whose eminent services I am well pleased to proclaim, and to whom I owe friendship and gratitude. In order to strengthen the Republic, menaced by anarchy from so many sides; to ensure order more efficiently than has been done up to the present time; to maintain abroad the name of France at the elevation of her renown, men are needed, who, animated by a patriotic devotedness, comprehend the necessity of the single direction of a firm character, and of a clearly defined policy, which does not compromise power by any irresolution; of men, in short, whose minds are as much filled with the conviction of my peculiar responsibility as of their own, and of the necessity of action as well as of words. (Great agitation.) For nearly a year, I have given many proofs of self-denial, in order that there might be no misunderstanding with regard to my real sentiments. Without rancor against any individual or against any party, I have allowed men of the most contrary opinions to arrive at power, but without obtaining the happy result which I expected from that arrangement. In place of effecting a fusion of different shades of opinion, I only arrived at a neutralization of force. The unity of views and intentions was interfered with, and the spirit of conciliation taken for weakness. Scarcely had the dangers of the street been got over, when the ancient parties were seen again to elevate their colors, revive their rivalries, and alarm the country by arousing disquietude. In the midst of this confusion, France, uneasy because she cannot see any guiding hand, seeks the hand and will of the elected of December 10th. But that will cannot be felt, unless there be entire unanimity of ideas, of views, and of convictions between the President and his Ministry, and unless the Assembly itself joins in the thought of the nation, as expressed in the election of the Executive power. A whole system triumphed on the 10th of December, for the name of Napoleon is a complete programme in itself. It means at home, order, authority, religion, and the welfare of the people; abroad, national dignity. It is this system that I wish to cause to triumph by the aid of the Assembly and the people. I wish to be worthy of the confidence of the people, by maintaining the constitution which I have sworn to observe. I wish to inspire the country by my fair, straightforward dealing, perseverance, and firmness, with a confidence that business will revive. The letter of the constitution has certainly a great influence on the destiny of the country, but the manner in which it is exercised has perhaps even more. The longer or shorter duration of power contributes powerfully to the stability of things; but it is only by displaying ideas and principles, that a Government can succeed in persuading society to re-assure itself. Let us, therefore, again raise up authority without interfering with real liberty. Let us calm the apprehensions that are felt by vanquishing bad passions, and by giving to all noble instincts their proper direction. Let us strengthen religious feeling, without abandoning the conquests of the revolution; and we shall save the country in spite of the parties, the ambitious, and even the infatuations, which our institutions may contain.

(Signed,)

'LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.'

The following is the definitive list of the new French Ministry, as published in the Moniteur of that day:—

General d'Hautpoul, Minister of War.
M. Achille Fould, Finance.
M. Rouher, Justice.
M. Ferdinand Barrot, Home Department.
M. A. de Rayneval, the Minister at Naples, Foreign Affairs.
M. Dumas, Commerce and Agriculture.
M. de Parrieu, Public Instruction and Worship.
Admiral Romain Desfosses, Marine and Colonies.
M. Bineau, Public Works.

General d'Hautpoul is charged, *ad interim*, in the absence of M. de Rayneval, with the portfolio of Foreign Affairs.

ROME.

An opinion seems to be prevalent, that the Pope will return to Rome Nov. 25th, the anniversary of his flight. Meanwhile, the aspect of affairs in the capital continues very gloomy.

AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY.

We learn from the German papers that three fresh executions took place at Pesth on the 24th ult. Baron Siegmund Perenyi and Messrs. Szacsvray and Csernus were on that day hanged on the Holzplatz. Baron Perenyi was second President of the Hungarian Upper House, (before March, 1848,) and a Judge of the High Court of Justice. Throughout the revolution, he was on the side of M. Kossuth and his party. He followed the Hungarian Parliament from Pesth to Szegedin, and from Szegedin to Pesth; and in June last he was appointed to the office of a Judex Curiæ. Baron Perenyi was a good lawyer and an excellent speaker. His condemnation and death by the hands of the common hangman have caused a deep and painful sensation in Hungary. M. Csernus was a sheriff, and M. Szaczvray acted as clerk to the Lower House of the Hungarian Parliament. It was he who drew up the Declaration of Independence of the Hungarian nation. The Vienna paper, *Lloyd*, states that fifteen other executions are expected to take place, and that the Cabinet intend to prolong the state of siege in Hungary for the term of three years. 'All plans of organization,' adds the *Lloyd*, 'are in vain, in the face of these deeds of blood; and the worst is, that the Ministers are aware of it.'

The butcher, Haynau, having been again confirmed in his despotic powers, and appointed civil and military governor of Hungary, has recommenced the sanguinary scenes which we had hoped had ceased in Hungary. At six o'clock in the morning of the 20th ult., Giron, (lieutenant-colonel and commandant of the German Legion,) Prince Woronjecki, and Havancourt, (aid-de-camp to Dembinski,) were hanged at Pesth. The first was a Prussian, the two latter were Poles, and seized with arms in their hands. These three executions had caused great terror amongst the inhabitants of Pesth, who have now lost all hope of the Government adopting a milder course of policy. On the 22d ult., MM. Madarasz and Perini were also executed, the latter being upwards of seventy years of age. It was much feared at Presburg that these murders would precipitate a rising of the people, who, in such case, would make fearful retaliation. Count Gefeon Roday has been condemned to two years' imprisonment. Several arrests have taken place at Pesth; amongst these are Messrs. Barkossy, Naray, and Kersetz, who were amongst the most distinguished functionaries of Kossuth's government.

The *Lloyd* says, according to direct intelligence from Widden, only six of the Hungarian exiles have as yet abjured the Christian faith. These men, although readily admitted to Islamism by the Turks, are nevertheless regarded by them with suspicion.

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

Of forty thousand drapers' assistants in London, there are but four hundred married men.

There is a Devonshire gentleman in the London Custom House having such a remarkable memory, that it is said he can tell where any ship that may be named out of 2000 hails from, and to what port she is bound.

Queen Victoria is reviving the fashion of wearing ear-rings.

AWFUL STEAMBOAT EXPLOSION.

NEW ORLEANS, Nov. 16, A. M.—A terrible steamboat explosion occurred here last evening. The steamer Louisiana, bound to St. Louis, when about starting from her wharf, burst both her boilers, shattering her to atoms, and also badly injuring the steamers Storm and Bostona, that were lying along side. The Louisiana was crowded with passengers, as were also the other two, which had just arrived. It was supposed that altogether 160 lives were lost, as well as many wounded. Already 50 dead bodies have been discovered. The Levee is strewed with the dead and dying, and hundreds of our citizens are around the melancholy scene, rendering all the assistance in their power to those in whom a spark of life remains. Dead bodies, legs, arms and heads, are scattered in every direction, and the sight presented is most awful.

November 17.—Captain Kennon, of the steamer Louisiana, has been arrested, and held to bail in the sum of $8000. The explosion having been attributed to carelessness, a searching investigation will shortly take place. Many more dead bodies have been found. The number of killed, it is believed, will reach 200, besides many dreadfully wounded. The flags of the shipping are all at half-mast.

The California Convention is composed of persons from the following States:—From New York, 7; Maryland, 5; Kentucky, 4; Ohio, 3; New Jersey, 3; Connecticut, 2; Vermont, 2; Virginia, 2; Massachusetts, 2; Tennessee, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Missouri, Maine, each have one, and the remainder are from California, Ireland, France, &c. In the whole number, there are 14 lawyers and 2 physicians.

☞ Rev. George P. Smith, editor of the Evangelical Messenger, Farmington, Iowa, has been arrested at St. Louis for forgery. One of his notes he attempted to pass off for goods, which led to his detection.

Shakspeare and Free Soil.—Mrs. F. A. Kemble read once only in Baltimore, and that gratuitously. It is said that she will receive no money in any State where slavery is tolerated.

Polygamy among the Deseret Mormons.—A letter from the city of Salt Lake states that the laws of the community permit the men to have as many wives as they can support, and that some of the older ones have twenty, but that the young men content themselves with five.

The Cholera has carried off 3000 people at Durango, Mexico, up to the last accounts.

Gold Dust. $3,730,000 in gold dust were received at the Philadelphia mint up to Saturday last.

Fatal Accident—The Skowhegan (Me.) Clarion says, 'We are informed by Mr. Blagden, the Lake st. gedriver, that two young men were drowned, by the filling of the boat on the lake, on Sunday last. Their names were Henry Seaton, late of Boston, and Wm. Meservey of Greenville.'

☞ While some experiments were being made with a cannon at the Washington navy yard on Tuesday, last week, a 32 pounder burst, instantly killing Mr. William M'Lane, the gunner. Several officers had a most narrow escape with their lives.

Accident from Patent Oil.—Three of the students of Brown University were severely burned on Tuesday evening of last week by the explosion of a can of Marsh's patent oil, while one of them was filling a lamp. Two of them were from this town—one a son of James M. Williams, Esq., and the other a son of William A. Crocker, Esq. The name of the other young man was Watson, and he belonged in Roxbury. Had it not been for the assistance of a gentleman who burst into the room on hearing the alarm, the accident might have entailed very serious consequences. Since this mishap, the President has prohibited the use of any kind of patent burning fluid, as a safeguard against further accidents.—*Taunton paper.*

Thanksgiving Day.—The following are the appointments throughout the Union, as far as ascertained:—

Maine,	Nov. 29	New Jersey,	Nov. 29
New Hampshire,	" 15	Pennsylvania,	" 29
Vermont,	" 29	Maryland,	" 29
Massachusetts,	" 29	Ohio,	" 29
Rhode Island,	" 29	North Carolina,	" 15
Connecticut,	" 29	Florida,	" 1
New York,	" 29	Washington City,	" 29

☞ One of the veteran petty thieves of Boston was arrested on Wednesday night, and the following assortment of goods found upon him, when searched at the watch-house, viz: three large rolls, nine small do, five apples, seven large shipbreads, half of a codfish, five small English herring, a quantity of butter, cheese, pickles, a bunch of cigars, (which is partially crumbled and mingled with the other articles,) nine newspapers, one large roller towel, two small table towels, and some other household articles.

Fatal Accident.—We learn from the Portsmouth Daily Gazette, that a shocking affair happened on the Portsmouth and Concord railroad in Greenland. A little boy ten years old, son of Capt. Marston, was run over by the cars while attempting to drive a cow from the track, and his head completely severed from the body!

Heavy Verdict.—A jury in Philadelphia has given a verdict of $4500 damages against a firm in Kingston, whose drayman, by unskilful driving, knocked the plaintiff down and severely injured her.

The Excitement occasioned in Montrose by the failing of the Susquehanna Bank, was intense, and Mr. F. T. St. John, the cashier, was on Saturday arrested and committed to prison in default of $40,000 bail. Threats of personal vengeance were freely uttered against him, the bank sign was taken down and placed over the jail door, effigies were paraded, and quite a mob attended Mr. St. John to jail, saluting him, as he went, with groans, hisses, etc. It is estimated that from $50,000 to $60,000 of the notes are in circulation in Susquehanna county.

Fire at Providence.—On Monday morning, about 3 o'clock, the splendid mansion of Mrs. Anna Jenkins, on Benefit street, was entirely consumed, with nearly all its contents. Mrs. Jenkins and her oldest daughter were rescued in their night dresses. Subsequently, Mrs. Jenkins, it is said, was seen on the one story addition, and to return to the house, probably to obtain some valuables, since which she has not been seen, and it is supposed that she perished in the flames. The house was one of the oldest and most substantial in the city, and contained an immense amount of valuable furniture, plate, jewelry and money, as Mrs. Jenkins was considered one of the wealthiest persons in the city. Scarcely an article was saved from the house, which fact is lost sight of in overwhelming anxiety for the fate of Mrs. Jenkins. The fire is supposed to have originated from the furnace. We have not heard an estimate of the loss of property; it will not probably fall short of from $20,000 to $30,000.—*Mirror.*

Boston Republican.—The daily issue of the Republican has ceased. The following reason therefor is given by Mr. Wilson:—

'The reason, and to us a very satisfactory one, is, that we have lost money, are losing money, and should continue to lose money by its publication. This reason ought to satisfy others—we are sure it satisfies ourselves.'

The semi-weekly and weekly issues of the Republican and Emancipator will be continued, as heretofore.

From Liberia.—Dr. J. W. Prout, formerly of Baltimore, who was much esteemed by the Liberians, and held a seat in their Senate, was drowned on Monrovia bar, while returning from a vessel at anchor in Messurado roads, which he had visited professionally, to attend the sick. He also held the office of Register, which is now filled by the renowned Colonel Hicks, from Kentucky.

Melancholy.—Leonard M. Knight committed suicide at East Cambridge on the night of the 29th of October, by cutting his throat with a razor. It is said he committed the rash act in consequence of being disappointed in a love affair with a girl in Lowell, who had engaged herself to another lover.

Massachusetts Legislature.—It is now understood that there is no election of Senators in Berkshire, and that the six vacancies in that county, Hampden and Franklin, are to be filled by the two Houses in Convention. When filled, the Board will stand 27 Whigs to 13 Opposition. The House of Representatives is so strongly Whig, that speculation is unnecessary as to the political character of the two branches.

Strawberries in Cincinnati.—The quantity sold in that market last year was 5765 bushels, to which 25 per cent. must be added for the quantity supplied to steamboats, hotels, private dwellings, confectioneries, &c. The entire quantity of ground on both sides of the Ohio devoted to the cultivation of this fruit is stated to be 259 acres.

The endowments of the University of Oxford are about £130,000 per annum, and of Cambridge £110,000. Besides, the University and Colleges of Oxford have within their patronage 463 livings, the annual value of which is £138,900; those in the gift of Cambridge are 313, valued at £93,900 per annum.

Correspondence of the N. Y. Journal of Commerce.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 17th.

I am happy to learn that there is to be a proposition from a Southern Democratic source, on the first day of the Session, that will, it is believed, settle the slavery question, so far as the admission of California and other States in the newly acquired territories, is concerned. The proposition will be in the form of a bill, and notice of its intended introduction will be given on the first day of the meeting of the Senate.

Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Clay will both support this compromise, as is believed by those who have some knowledge of their views.

In this way, the *perils* which are imminent will be avoided.

The moderate or rational men are called to the rescue of the country. If the counsels of ultra men should prevail, we should have two separate organizations of the House, at the ensuing session, to say nothing of other difficulties.

California *cannot* come into the Union with the boundaries at which she appears to aim—that is, the whole *sea-coast.*

WASHINGTON, Saturday, Nov. 17—P. M.

Since writing to you in relation to the matter of a projected compromise of the territorial and slavery questions, I have learned something of the details of the measure, and the strength which it is likely to have in the Sente. The scheme is well got up, and is to be urged as an alternative to, or rather, in opposition to the movements contemplated by Mr. Calhoun, and other extreme men.

The scheme is based on the principle and the line of the Missouri Compromise, on the supposition that California can be divided into three States, or territories, which will soon be ready to assume the relation of States: and on the usage which has long been acted on, of preserving a sort of balance between the Slave and Free States, by admitting, at the same time, one Free and one Slave State.

Thus Maine and Missouri, as it will be remembered, were admitted at the same time.

The Bill which will be introduced in the Senate, will provide, first, for the establishment of four territorial governments, to wit, that for New Mexico; 2d, that for Deseret; 3d, that for California, north of 36° 30', and west of Deseret; and 4th, the part of California south of 36° 30'.

It will also provide that the Territory north of 36° 30 min. shall be authorized forthwith to form a State Constitution, and shall be admitted into the Union. Also that a new State shall be at the same time admitted from the eastern part of Texas, and south of 36° 30 min. The Bill will not settle the boundary between Texas and New Mexico, but will provide that the question be submitted to a Board of Commissioners.

California will not be allowed to take the Ocean boundary, which has been proposed in her Convention.

These Territorial questions, mingled with the Slavery agitation, and the uncertainty as to the permanence of either of the present party organizations, will give an extraordinary interest to the coming Session, even at its very commencement. The slavery question is the great question of the day, and will swallow up all others.

The Southern Convention.—The Charleston Courier of the 8th contains the following important paragraph:—

'We are informed that our great Southern statesman, the able advocate and intrepid champion of the South, and yet the devoted lover of our glorious Union—the Constitutional Union of co-equal States—warmly approves the Mississippi scheme of a Southern Convention. We hope and trust that our information may prove correct, and that the sanction of *this great name* will not be wanting to a plan of action so replete with the promise of security to the South and peace to the Union.'

☞ 'The devoted lover of our glorious Union' is John C. Calhoun, says the Courier. Don't forget it.

PRESENTATION OF A BIBLE.—On Saturday last, Mr. Thomas Paul, Principal of the Smith School, was presented with a magnificent Bible by the pupils of the colored grammar school in Providence, R. I., of which he has been for some time past the master, accompanied by the following note:—

DEAR TEACHER—As we felt indebted to you for your past instruction to us, we did not know how to express our gratitude better than by sending you the best of all books, the Bible; and we all agree that the time which we spent under your tuition was the happiest period of our existence.

ANNA OFFEE, *President.*

☞ We have no doubt that Mr. Paul is deserving of such a tribute, and we are pleased to record the fact in our columns; but we regret that he left Providence to place himself at the head of the Smith School in this city, on invitation of a caste-perpetuating school committee, and in opposition to the wishes and feelings of an overwhelming majority of our colored citizens.

☞ A negro belonging to Mr. Glasscock committed violence on Miss Bright, an interesting little girl, 14 years of age, near Palmyra, Mo., and then murdered her. For fear of being detected, the inhuman monster turned round and killed her brother, aged 12 years. The wretch has been arrested, and will be *burned alive.*

☞ Horrible inhumanity! And yet this terrible declaration that the culprit is to be burned alive by a Lynch process, has elicited scarcely a comment in any of the public journals. As a further specimen of Southern ideas of justice, read the following item:

Punished.—Anthony, a colored man in the service of Joel B. Bragg, was ordered 10 lashes for using insulting and provoking language to J. W. Hill. Mr. Hill hires his wife, and one day last week undertook to chastise her. Anthony interposed, and remarked menacingly, that *he couldn't stand to see his wife whipped.*—*Richmond Republican.*

☞ The trial of S. A. Smith, the 'Red Boot Man,' on a charge of 'boxing up' and attempting to abduct two negroes, some months since, was concluded on Wednesday night. Yesterday, he was sentenced to the Penitentiary for four years and six months.—*Richmond Enquirer*, 2d.

☞ So much for endeavoring to deliver the spoiled out of the hands of the oppressor in this Christian country! Talk of Austrian and Russian atrocities! Where is Daniel Webster?

Two Negroes—Dick, belonging to Mr. Gentry, and Ned Green, belonging to Mr. Timberlake, were on Thursday condemned by the Hustings Court to be hung on the 21st December, for burglary in the store of Mr. Waddell, on Cary street.—*Richmond Enquirer.*

☞ It, for an act of burglary, one deserves to be hung at the South, what ought to be the punishment inflicted on those who steal and enslave men, women and children—Taylor, Clay, Calhoun, &c.?

☞ Three free negroes were sold last week, each into twelve months bondage, for sojourning in Louisville contrary to the statutes of the laws made and provided in regard to the free negroes of other States.—*Lexington (Ky.) Observer.*

☞ Citizens of Massachusetts—it may be—sold as slaves! And how shall they be delivered?

Great Peace Meeting in Worcester.—On Tuesday evening last week, the City Hall was crowded to its utmost capacity by a large audience of ladies and gentlemen assembled to welcome the return of the Delegates from this country from the Peace Congress. The meeting was called to order by A. Tolman, Esq. Hon. Henry Chapin, Mayor of the city was chosen to preside. Speeches were then made by three of the Delegates present—by the Mayor and other citizens.

Another Steamboat Disaster. New Orleans, Nov. 18. The steamboat Belle blow up last evening, between here and Mobile. The engineer and several hands were killed, and others wounded. The persons killed in the late explosion on board the Louisiana were mostly emigrants.

NEW YORK. *A Close Vote.* The New York Tribune sums up the vote of the different counties of the State—all but two being official—and makes the whole Whig vote average 202,028, and that of the Democrats 202,266—Democratic majority in the State 133.

Two Girls drowned.—A daughter of Daniel Cameron of Berlin, Vt., and one of Ira Cameron of Middlesex, Vt., cousins aged 17 and 10, fell through the Railroad bridge over Dog River, and were drowned.

Edmund L. Le Breton, Esq., who a few months since was appointed agent of the Merrimack Corporation, in place of Judge Washburn, resigned, died at his residence in this city, yesterday. The complaint under which he suffered very severely during the past week, and which has finally stricken him down in the pride of his manhood, was the erysipelas. Mr. Le Breton had but recently removed here from Newburyport. He was a lawyer by profession, we believe, having studied in the office of Caleb Cushing, though for some years past he has been connected with the Suffolk Bank, in Boston.—*Lowell Courier.*

ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

Money collected for the N. E. Non-Resistance Society, at its Annual Meeting, Nov. 17 *and* 18, 1849.

J. N. Buffum	1 00	M. B. Johnson	0 15
H. Barker	0 50	— Cummings	0 50
H. W. Blanchard	0 50	W. Sparrell	1 00
S. Mitchell	0 40	H. H. Brigham	0 25
T. Haskell	1 00	S. C. Hewett	0 50
F. Jackson	1 00	A. J. Fuller	0 25
J. Southwick	0 25	W. Channing	1 00
W. H. Fish	0 50	E. Belknap	0 50
E. Frail	0 25	E. D. & A. F. Draper	3 00
C. H. A. Dall	0 50	C. K. Whipple	1 00
B. Pease	0 12	C. F. Hovey	5 00
D. S. Whitney	0 50	E. Quincy	1 00
S. Barrett	1 00	E. L. Capron	1 00
W. L. Garrison	1 00	W. Phillips	1 00
A. M. J. M. Page	0 25	H. C. Fifield	0 50
Lewis Ford	0 50	R. R. Crosby	0 50
R. H. Ober	1 00	J. B. Yerrinton	0 50
		Sundry friends,	14 33
			$42 25

C. K. WHIPPLE, *Treasurer.*

EQUAL SCHOOL RIGHTS.

An Elocutionary and Musical Entertainment in aid of the above glorious struggle will be given at Washingtonian Hall, Bromfield Street, on TUESDAY EVENING, Nov. 27th, *commencing at* 7 1-2 *o'clock.*

The exercises to consist of declamations, original and selected, and favorite colloquies, by volunteers from the Young Men's Literary Society, blended with a choice selection of Vocal and Instrumental Music, by Mrs. A. M. Nahar, Miss C. L. Howard, Mr. Wm G Alled, and others, who have generously tendered their valuable services. The whole, it is hoped, offering a sufficient inducement to secure a large audience of the friends of impartial freedom.

Tickets 12 1-2 cts. each, to be obtained at 21 Cornhill, of the Committee, and at the door.

ISAAC H. SNOWDON,
WM. C. NELL,
WM. T. RAYMOND, } *Com.*

Boston, Nov. 23, 1849.

LITCHFIELD CO., (CONN.) ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS.

PARKER PILLSBURY, CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, and LUCY STONE, Agents of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:—

In North Canaan and Norfolk, (Conn.) Thursday and Friday evenings, Nov. 22d and 23d.

In Winchester, (Winsted village,) Saturday evening and Sunday, (all day,) November 24 and 25.

And again in Norfolk, probably, on Monday evening, Nov. 26.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr. and LUCY STONE, Agents of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will hold meetings in NORTH DENNIS, on Saturday evening and Sunday, Dec. 1 and 2; and in other towns in that vicinity during the week following; more definite arrangements to be announced at the North Dennis

POETRY.

From the Concord (Ohio) Free Press.

MR. EDITOR:

This piece of *verse* is not the true effusion of my own sentiments and feelings. The Muse has only authorized me to write, as she presents a scene in Nature's forest in the South. I, therefore, only imagine myself secreted near a certain consecrated spot of merriment, where the slaves are wont to assemble, and spend their holidays in the usual manner; and hither I fancy I see a group of slaves resorting, with their 'banjo' instruments, to spend a few moments o jollification over the death of an old tyrant master; while Sam (the favorite servant) gives a compendium of his illness and agreeable death.

THE SLAVEHOLDER'S REST.

BY J. MAC C. SIMPSON.

Sam.

Come, all my brethren, let us take a rest,
While the moon shines so brightly and clear;
Old master is dead, and left us at last,
And has gone, at the Bar to appear.
Old master has died, and lying in his grave,
And our blood will awhile cease to flow;
He will no more trample on the neck of the slave;
For he's gone where the slaveholders go.

Chorus.

Hang up the shovel and the hoe—
Take down the fiddle and the bow—
Old master has gone to the slaveholders' rest,
He has gone where they all ought to go.

Sam.

I heard the old doctor say the other night,
As he pass'd by the dining-room door,
'Perhaps the old man may live through the night,
But I think he will die about four.'
Then old mistress sent me, at the peril of my life,
For the parson to come down and pray;
'For,' says she, 'your old master's now about to die'—
And says I, 'God speed him on his way.'

Hang up the shovel, &c.

At four o'clock at morn the family was called
Around the old man's dying bed;
And, 'Oh! but I laughed to myself when I heard
That the old man's spirit had fled.
The children all cried, and so did I pretend;
And old mistress very nearly went mad;
And the old parson's groans did the heav'ns fairly rend;
But I tell you I felt mighty glad.

Hang up the shovel, &c.

[*They all join in this:*]

We'll no more be roused by the blowing of his horn,
Our backs no longer he will score;
He no more will feed us on cotton-seeds and corn;
For his reign of oppression now is o'er.
He no more will hang our children on the tree,
To be ate by the carrion crow;
He no more will send our wives to Tennessee;
For he's gone where the slaveholders go.

Hang up the shovel and the hoe,
Take down the fiddle and the bow,
We'll dance and sing,
And make the forest ring
With the fiddle and the old banjo.

HEIGH-HO! THE RAIN!

Heigh-ho! the rain,
The wild, tempestuous rain!—
Hear how it raves at my window-pane!
Hurrying down with mad commotion,
Mad as the din of the storm-lashed ocean,
Sweeping the mountain, pelting the plain—
Heigh-ho! the wild, impetuous rain!

Heigh-ho! the rain,
The chilling, querulous rain!
Hear how it scolds at my window-pane!
See on the boughs that are well nigh breaking,
Hundreds of leaves in their terror shaking;
Seeming to murmur this sad refrain,
'Heigh-ho! the chilling, querulous rain!'

Heigh-ho! the rain,
The restless, tremulous rain!
Hear how it beats at my window-pane!
Beats like a heart with fear affrighted,
Beats like a heart with love delighted;—
Half in gladness and half in pain—
Heigh-ho! the restless, tremulous rain!

Heigh-ho! the rain,
The pleading, pitiful rain!
Hear how it sighs at my window-pane!
Type of a breast that is full of sorrow,
Sighing for peace, and a brighter morrow;
Sighs that are uttered too oft in vain,—
Heigh-ho! the pleading, pitiful rain!

Heigh-ho! the rain,
The weary, desolate rain!
Hear how it sobs at my window-pane!
Sobs like a child that has lost its mother,
And never, never can find another
To love and cherish like *her* again!
Heigh-ho! the weary, desolate rain!

Heigh-ho! the rain,
The dainty, delicate rain!
Hear how it taps at my window-pane!
Gratefully sweet, like Love's moist fingers
Laid on a brow where fever lingers,
Drip the cool sounds on my heated brain—
Heigh-ho! the dainty, delicate rain!

Heigh-ho! the rain,
The lovely, musical rain!
Hear how it chants at my window-pane!
Hushed is the tempest's petulant chiding,
Gently and gracefully now 'tis gliding
Into a calm and beautiful strain—
Heigh-ho! the lovely, musical rain.

Heigh-ho! the rain,
The fitful, vanishing rain!
Now it has ceased at my window-pane.
Through the torn edge of a cloud just parted,
See! one tremulous star has started!
Putting to silence the dull refrain,—
'Heigh-ho! the fitful, vanishing rain!'

HOME AND FRIENDS.

BY CHARLES SWAIN.

Oh, there's a power to make each hour
As sweet as heaven designed it,
Nor need we roam to bring it home,
Though few there be that find it!
We seek too high for things close by,
And lose what nature found us;
For life hath here no charm so dear
As Home and Friends around us!

We oft destroy the present joy
For future hopes—and praise them;
While flowers as sweet bloom at our feet,
If we'd but stoop to raise them!
For things afar still sweetest are,
When youth's bright spell hath bound us:
But soon we're taught that earth has nought
Like Home and Friends around us!

The friends that speed in time of need,
When Hope's last reed is shaken,
To show us still, that, come what will,
We are not quite forsaken:—
Though all were night, if but the light
From Friendship's altar crowned us,
'Twould prove the bliss of earth was this—
Our Homes and Friends around us!

Reformatory.

HUMAN GOVERNMENTS.

TO EDWARD SEARCH, LONDON, ENGLAND:

MY DEAR SIR,—I have before me the Liberator, with your letter of September 6th, in reply to mine inquiring into the right of individuals to form human governments, for which you have my sincere thanks. To questions asked of many, yours is the first answer received, attempting any thing like a demonstration of the existence of such a right. Believing the existence of any human government to be totally incompatible with the exercise of acknowledged unalienable and self-evidently subsisting human rights, yet, warned that I may be mistaken here, by the necessity for correcting errors in judgment ofttimes in the past, where principles seemed as plain as they do in this case, I have diligently sought light wherever it seemed attainable. That you have failed to convince me may be owing, perhaps, to the obtuseness of my mental perceptions; be this as it may, I am impelled to pursue this investigation still further.

Your argument in favor of the right to construct human governments appears to rest upon the following propositions:—

1st. 'Man in his childhood is subjected by his Maker to human government, and in a state of society grows to manhood under it.'

2d. 'Governmental power is rightly exercised when it is possessed by the consent of the community.'

3d. 'That a man who is consulted, and has the opportunity of voting as to matters which are to rule the common interest, is self-governed.'

4th. 'It is admitted,' (by A. Brooke,) 'that it is his duty to govern himself; this conceded, the whole question is conceded.' And,

5th. 'That if a man refuse to act upon the representative system, and to discharge his duties through a socially constituted agency, he is bound to show, not only another, but a better way.'

Before noticing these separately, allow me to say, that perceiving no right to exist in the individual to coerce the will, or govern his fellow-man, until demonstrative evidence be afforded, I deny the right of man to exercise dominion over man. I acknowledge no allegiance to, seek no protection from, any human government. Further, all history and observation teach me, that although professedly established to protect life and secure property, they most lavishly destroy life, and most abundantly waste property, immeasurably beyond all other known agencies, That the influence emanating from Thrones, and Parliaments, Presidencies and Congresses, Legislatures and Governors, Armies and Navies, Courts of Justice, (miscalled,) Juries, Sheriffs, Constables, Attornies, Magistrates, Jails, Penitentiaries and Gibbets, being all the same in principle, differing only in degree, is eminently immoral, wicked, injurious and degrading, far transcending in evil all which might be anticipated from the anarchy and confusion which it is imagined would result from the sudden cessation of their existence. And this, too, from the operation of an immutable law, that like ever begets its like. These all being infractions of human rights, work only evil, and that continually, from the inevitable certainty with which a penalty follows every violation of natural law.

Now let us examine your propositions. Of the first, allow me to ask, is it any thing more than an assertion, without evidence in its support? It is of human governments we are speaking. Your proposition involves the idea of a superhuman or divine government, separate and distinct from the natural laws to which 'man in his childhood is subjected by his Maker.' As I understand it, man is subjected in childhood, by *man*, to the government to which you allude, and the question between us is, can he rightfully be thus subjected, in childhood or manhood? To assume that he is, because placed there 'by his Maker,' is to introduce a new question, namely, the divine origin of human governments, and one that I have no thought of discussing.

2d. 'Governmental power is rightly exercised when it is possessed by the consent of the community.' Is this sound philosophy? Is the 'consent' of community always right? And as the consent, the will, the desire of a community may change from one point to exactly its opposite, will *right* change with it? Have human rights no firmer basis than the consent of communities? The consent of a community, as understood by the friends of human governments, means only the will of the majority; for those subjected to the penalty of violated human laws cannot be supposed to consent thereto. Hence the question resolves itself into one of the right of majorities to execute their will against the consent of minorities, simply because a greater number favor than oppose the measure. The ignorance and superstition of the ancients embodied this idea in the assertion, that the voice of the people is the voice of God; but has history verified its truth? The American Declaration of Independence asserts that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; but, as before stated, no such consent has been or can be had, and it ceases to be 'government,' and is simply an agreement, to which I have made no objection, when there is co-operation of numbers without any attempt to enforce penalties against dissent, should it arise. The great point to be settled is, has an individual the right to assume and exercise dominion over another individual? If he has, then let the source, the limits and extent of that right be shown, that we may erect governments in accordance therewith. If he has not, it follows, as a necessary consequence, no just man can countenance representative governments, since manifestly they must be an exercise of power, brute force, without right.

Let us now examine the practical operation of your third proposition, as I have them classed. 'A man who is consulted, and who has an opportunity of voting as to matters which are to rule the common interest, is self-governed.'

To 'consult' all the members of a national community, at the frequently recurring periods at which new members must be expected to assume their place, would be to have no fixed rules of government whatever. Hence the idea of established 'constitutions,' which are to be the rule of guidance to law-making and executive delegates. Upon these the individual is not and cannot be consulted, except by the allowance of a voice in amending them, and this necessarily under such a regulation of forms and restrictions that an ordinary lifetime may pass without his having opportunity to attempt any change. Meantime, the government being representative, each individual sanctioning it, by act or consent, *makes himself responsible, morally*, for all that is done by the rulers. This responsibility is assumed in the primary agreement by which the government is formed, granting the rule to the majority. This agreement necessarily renders the minority responsible as much for the acts of the government, as if they had voted with the majority. All this is being illustrated, now, in the United States of America. The framers of the Constitution, by certain artfully worded arrangements, have appropriated the whole physical power of the nation, and every inch of the soil it inhabits, to the perpetuation of human slavery, so long as any separate State shall choore to demand such perpetuation and support. And thus the professed opponents of slavery who vote, or consent to the existence of the government, by their original agreement to the principle that a majority may rule, render themselves, as individuals, equally responsible with the majority for its continuance! And so of wars, and all other national crimes.

Whilst the absence of this sense of individual responsibility by men operating in masses is so general, how little hope is there for suffering humanity! A mistaken philosophy, and one which blights and dwarfs the conscience, is in vogue, teaching that the motive for an act enters into and decides the question of its morality. Stated in its naked simplicity, 'the end justifies the means,' and many, if not most men, repudiate it verbally, yet still it is the guiding principle of their acts. It lies at the foundation of human governments. Invasions of human rights, acknowledged abstractly to be such, are tolerated on all hands, and practised by all who participate in these associations, because of some good end expected to ensue from the outrage. Hence we see Jefferson and his associates teaching that human life is unalienable, and the right to liberty the same, yet framing governments authorised to destroy life by wars and by civil penalties, and to perpetuate slavery, and he and they ceasing to perceive these to be wrong, although exactly the opposite of what they had pronounced to be self-evident truths!

It is believed to be demonstrable, that certain great natural laws are in existence, which shape the consequences of human action, independent of the motives of the actors, and which determine their morality. In observing some of the physical laws of the universe, and the penalties for their violation, every one at once perceives that these operate on man irrespective of his motives. He who cannot swim, and yet ventures into water beyond his depth, to save a struggling fellow-creature, will be drowned as inevitably as if his purpose had been to destroy him. And are not the laws controlling our moral nature as immutable as those which govern the physical? That equality of rights under which the human race comes from the hands of the Creator, imparts to the individual an unalienable right to liberty and life, and he or they who violate it must suffer the penalty with inevitable certainty, no matter what the motive for the deed, or the mode or agency employed in performing it. All penalties for the violation of physical law are not so distinctly perceptible as in the case of the drowning man alluded to; as, for instance, violations of the law of digestion are of daily occurrence with great numbers, who never trace the ill-health which results up to its real cause. So of the operation of the moral laws to which the human race has been subjected; the penalties are not discerned by the sufferers, but are not the less sure, nevertheless.

Permit me now, briefly as possible, to notice together your two remaining propositions. It is assumed, that to admit the right of a man to govern himself, concedes the whole question of the right to form human governments. Not granted, nor, as I think, demonstrated. To concede the right of an individual to control himself is not conceding that he may rightfully assume dominion over another. Allow me to define what I consider self-government to be. Allusion has already been made to the natural laws which control man in his threefold nature of a physical, intellectual and moral being. Obedience, voluntary submission to these, is what I term self-government. This involves no attempt at the coercive control of others. I will admit, however, the phrase self-government to be a faulty expression, in conveying the idea.

And now to comply with your last proposition, and show the better way. It is simple obedience to this omnipotent government, already existing, whether this leads us to disobey human law or no. Admit the existence of these natural laws, (and who can deny the fact?) and the argument in favor of human government is at an end. If coincident with natural law, they are obviously unnecessary; if opposed, they are necessarily wicked, and opposed to human welfare.

With much respect, I remain yours,

A. BROOKE.

Oakland, Ohio, Nov. 9th, 1849.

FATHER MATHEW.

CHESTER SPRINGS, Chester co., Pa., 4th 11th month, 1849.

FRIEND GARRISON:

An incident occurred here the other day, which I think worth relating. An Irish neighbor of mine concluded to have a party on what is called Hallow eve, and accordingly purchased some brandy and apples, and invited a number of his fellow-countrymen to be present with him on the occasion. Having the stimulus on hand for a regular jollification, they spent a noisy night. Next morning, the wife of an Irishman called at my house on an errand, and I concluded to give her a lecture on the impropriety of using intoxicating drinks as a beverage. She soon assumed a defensive position, and undertook to defend the practice of drinking, and named a member of the Society of Friends in Philadelphia, with whom she had lived, who drank wine; and, as a further justification of their course, said she knew priests in Ireland who drank liquor. I told her that others doing wrong was no justification for her conduct, and, further, that intemperance had been Ireland's greatest foe. I knew that all the Irish priests did not drink intoxicating liquors, and called her attention to the fact that Father Mathew was an Irish priest, and did not use intoxicating drinks, and was an active temperance man. As soon as I mentioned the name of Father Mathew, she spoke out indignantly and said—'Don't hold Father Mathew up to me for an example—a man who has two sets of principles, one for Ireland and one for America; I have no confidence in him.' I thought this a severe rebuke. It is evident that Father Mathew has done the good cause of temperance a great injury by his dishonest course toward the slave, who had a right to expect an open, straight-forward course towards him and his friends. How different his course from that of our beloved George Thompson! He came here in an hour that made it dangerous to speak a word in favor of the slave. Yet how manfully he spoke out! I never saw the man, but I love him. He has won the esteem of thousands who never saw him, and who never will, and so might Father Mathew. I would rather have the respect and confidence of the little band of abolitionists in America, than all the rest of this pro-slavery nation put together.

I rejoice that Joseph Barker intends removing to America. In his letter published in the Standard, he gives us to understand that no Arnold blood courses in his veins. 'If you,' says he, 'can tolerate my opinions, I can tolerate yours.'

I am the more surprised at Father Mathew's conduct, on account of the position he so favorably occupied at home. As a man of intelligence, he should have known that the abolitionists of America are the back-bone of the temperance cause, and that, in giving the cold shoulder to them, he virtually turned against the true friends of the temperance movement in America. I remember, some ten years ago, before temperance had been as much talked about as it has since, I attended an Anti-Slavery Convention at Harrisburg, the capital of this State, and out of about 400 delegates from different parts of the State, not one drank intoxicating drinks as a beverage.

I might state other facts to show that anti-slavery men are clean-handed on that subject. Look at the vast amount of temperance labor done by our agents and our anti-slavery press! I have thought some times that it would be about as certain a method of making good temperance men as any other, to preach anti-slavery to them, and convert them into good abolitionists, and then they would throw off the slavery of intemperance as a necessary consequence.

Thine for reform,

EDWIN H. COATES.

☞ The crusade against slave master mechanics is becoming more widespread throughout the South. We notice that a number of papers in various quarters have taken up the cudgels. One paper, the Cassville, Geo., Standard, having seen fit to defend the employment of slaves as master mechanics, complains that it has been extensively denounced as favoring abolitionism.

THE EXTERNALS OF PIETY.

Extract from 'A Sermon preached to the Independent Congregational Society in Meadville, Pa., September 30, 1849. By Rufus P. Stebbins.'

'Language can be used where the heart is not. Houses of worship can be built, the altar of worship reared, by those who honor not God, and keep not his law. Forms of worship can be observed, prayers may be said, psalms may be sung, the solemn assembly may gather, families may go up to the house of God in company, and yet God not be worshipped acceptably. The noise of a great shout may be heard in the camp of Israel, and yet God may not descend into their sanctuary. The ceremonial may be observed by the hypocrite, as well as by the devout. The wages of extortion may build a church, as well as the fruits of honest industry. And we read that the vehemence and length of the Pharisee's prayer far exceeded those of the penitent publican's. Nay, more, he approached nearer the altar, and spread forth his hands and lifted up his eyes to heaven, while the other stood afar off. Costly structures can be erected by the irreligious; psalm-singing can be engaged in by the profligate; Pharisees may bend their knees in long and vociferous prayer; hypocrites may relate the wonderful dealings of God with their souls in the conference meeting; worldlings may enumerate their good deeds and kindly charities; the altar of God may be surrounded by those who are ready to *pray* for, *speak* for, to *fight* for religion; yet how soon would the earnest throng—the humble Pharisee, the praying hypocrite, the charitably avaricious—cease their homage, were they called upon to *live* for religion! The ceremonial is usually well regarded. To an extent creditable to the means and wants of religion, houses of worship are erected, men throng the altar, their prayers are sufficiently numerous and long, their songs sufficiently numerous and loud, their garments sufficiently purified and costly. The failure of men has not been in a neglect of the ceremonial of religion. The wide world over, from tropic to pole, from continent to island, clouds of incense are floating from a million altars, and the prayers of the worshipper ascend like the voice of many waters. But that other and more important part of worship, *life*,—that essential, indispensable thing, without which all words are mockery, and all prayers blasphemy; that seldom obtained thing, *life*,—without which all ceremonials are an abomination, all formalities offensive, all church-going, church-building, and church-dedicating, mockery; that often despised, that sometimes reproached and scoffed thing, a Christian, obedient LIFE,—is rare, very rare. As the Jews of old, in the time of Isaiah, had come to consider their sacrifices of the herd, the blood of bullocks and lambs, their oblations and incense, their new moons and sabbaths, their calling of assemblies and solemn meetings, as sufficient to commend them to God, without a life of daily goodness,—without honesty, purity, forbearance, brotherly kindness, and charity; so Christians have come, to an alarming extent, to consider the ceremonials of worship, churches, meetings, prayers, singing, communing, baptizing, as acceptable to God, and opening the way to glory, without the *good life*,—daily, hourly devotion to duty; without which, my text declares that no offering can be accepted. I say, this is an error of the church at the present day; and it is a sad one, and as extensive as it is sad. It is not confined to one branch of the church, one sect or party or class; it pervades all, in a greater or less degree; and so much, where it least prevails, as to close up the windows of heaven, and prevent the Lord from pouring out a full blessing. Those who worship in cathedrals whose moss has been growing on the pilasters for centuries, and those who assemble in the edifice whose unhewn timbers are not yet seasoned by the sun's rays, are guilty. Rituals in robes are no more, are no less, acceptable than rituals in rags. The edifice of logs and the edifice of marble may contain an equally ceremonial worship, and witness an equally offensive incense and unacceptable sacrifice. The *life*,—the doings and sayings and feelings and desires and imaginings of each moment,—this is what is wanted to make the ceremonial of the church, at the present day, effective to man and acceptable to God.

COME-OUTERISM.

The Ravenna (Ohio) Star, not 'a star of the first magnitude,' closes a characteristic notice of the meetings of H. C. Wright and Parker Pillsbury, in that place, with the following elegant and generous remark:

'To assert that the devil is a 'come-outer' might be regarded as invidious; we will, therefore, content ourself by simply saying, that the devil is the first personage of whom we have any knowledge, who ventured to raise his head against government, law and order!'

The *Bugle* thus replies:—

That last remark, Mr. Star, is true as preaching; but pray tell us, was the government against which that prince of politicians, the devil, raised his heel, one in which every sixth person was a slave, and whose Consitution tolerated the sin of slaveholding? Was it a confederacy between honest men and rogues, in which the latter had the lion's share of the benefits?—If it was, then the devil has got a bad name without justifiable cause. If Satan raised a rebellion in heaven because he would not be guilty of catching fugitive slaves, and committing the knaveries that have been practised by the U. S. Government ever since its foundation, he certainly does deserve to be called a Come-outer; and we will admit him to be the founder of our church whenever the Star will satisfy us that such was the fact.

EDUCATION.

Extract from an article in the last number of the Christian Examiner, on the late Scientific Meeting at Cambridge:—

The absurdity of *a priori* decisions upon the facts of nature is abundantly shown by the superior fruitfulness of modern science over that of book and syllogism naturalists; the infinite utility of *a priori* investigations as guides to observation is shown by the history of many discoveries in the same sciences and arts, from Galileo's reinvention of the telescope to Galle's finding of Neptune, from Columbus's discovery of America to Owen's rebuilding of the New Zealand moa.

Hence, also, will the course of liberal education become greatly modified by this change in the state of human philosophy and logic. The dryness of detail in every branch of study will be relieved by making more manifest to the pupil, the connection of each subject with the great plan of God's government, and man's duty. The aversion which many learners feel towards all things now taught in schools will be avoided, by introducing into the course of instruction such branches as suit the natural tastes of all, and give each an opportunity to exercise his special powers. As the sciences begin more powerfully to assert their claim upon the attention of men, it will be perceived that the objects of primary education are not attained when we have taught the child his mother tongue, the application of arithmetic to money-getting, and of geography to commerce; neither are the objects of a collegiate course attained when the student has added to his English grammar some knowledge of other tongues, to his arithmetic a little of other mathematics, and to all a little drilling upon logic and rhetoric. In proportion as 'the advancement of science' is made an object of care, we shall naturally seek to cultivate in our children habits and powers of observation and reasoning. Neither of these were taught in our old common-school system. Even now, there are few means employed to cultivate the perceptive powers; it seems to be forgotten, by those in charge of our schools, that, before we reason, we must have facts to reason upon. Colburn's First Lessons is undoubtedly one of the best of all possible school-books; yet, in the hands of many teachers, it becomes an occasion of great injury to the scholar. In developing the reasoning power of children at the age of ten or twelve, it succeeds beyond all praise; but when the scholar begins to study at the age of six or seven, and when all the other teaching in the school is modelled on the same plan, what can we expect of the child but that he will become confused and bewildered by attempting to imitate its severe introspective analysis, wearied and disgusted with study, and thus grow up without learning even to reason? As to observation, there is no pretence of cultivating the eye or ear, except through the alphabet and perchance a few maps. But when the advancement of science shall have more effectually convinced the world of the importance of studying the works of the all-wise Builder of the universe, it will be seen that the eye is the first thing to be educated. The first indication of intellect that the infant gives is in tracing with its eye the outline of things; the second is in the recognition of objects which it has before seen. Does not Nature itself teach us that geometry and natural history are proper branches of learning for the young child? Children can ordinarily be taught to name all the plants of common occurrence in their neighborhood, to tell all the most common birds, and even insects, and to recognize them all in drawings, before they can, by any painstaking, be taught to count twenty. The fondness of a child for flowers and birds, for animals, for pictures and music, is proverbial. Yet, instead of following this plain intimation of Nature, we teach it to consider interest in the works of God childish, and shut it up in a close room, out of the sight of natural objects, to study the multiplication table, or learn to compute interest on notes of hand. Arithmetic is made to fill the place of all other sciences, or serve as the foundation of all; for neither of which offices is it well adapted. It probably occupies this prominent place from being considered the most practically useful science. But it enjoys this reputation undeservedly. While arithmetic is applicable only to direct questions of numbers, and may all be comprehended in about a dozen rules, geometry, through its culture of the eye and judgment, botany and zoology, through their exercise of the powers of observation and comparison, benefit the scholar in every possible department of life, mechanical, agricultural, or commercial. Even upon the narrow ground of utility, therefore, must the present course of education be changed. Physical sciences must come before mathematical, and geometry before arithmetic. Taking a higher view of education, as preparing a child of man to live as a child of God, it becomes still more evident, that the first intellectual training should aim to form the habit of listening to the word of God by which all things are created. As to the question of choice among physical sciences, the order of nature gives safe indications. First teach a child concerning those things in which he is interested. This brings zoology, botany, music and geometry first in the order of time. And these may well occupy all the study hours (which should be few) in the first three years of schooling. Daily singing, and instruction in the art of distinguishing birds and insects by their notes, might constitute, at first, the musical tuition. The names of plants, grouped in natural families, illustrated by good drawings, and in summer by fresh specimens, with simple lessons upon the characters of the families and the physiology of vegetation, would constitute the botanical course. The instruction in zoology might be the same. In geometry, the 'Introduction translated from Prussian Text-Books' affords excellent models for teachers. We would also include elementary drawing of outlines. Three years spent in this way, say from the age of five to eight, would prepare the scholar with a basis of facts for future reasoning, and he would enter with more understanding and ability upon the abstractions of arithmetic and grammar, and the sweeping generalities of geography. The last-named study would be rendered specially interesting, after such a preparation for understanding something of the plants and animals of foreign lands. We are aware that the change from the present course of study in the primary schools to that which we have now marked out, is not likely to be speedily made. Nevertheless, there have been, of late years, some approaches towards it. Music and drawing, and elementary geometry, have been introduced in many schools with great success. Botany and zoology ought to follow, and, doubtless, at some day, will. Out of them natural theology must flow, as from a fountain.

☞ The tunnel at New Hamburg, N. Y., is 830 feet long, and through solid rock. At the south end is a cut 500 feet long, 30 feet wide, and 50 feet deep, all through the rock before reaching the tunnel; shrough two shafts sunk to it, one 70 feet in depth, the other 56, a glimpse of daylight may be obtained. Emerging at the north end, one other deep cut is found, nearly as formidable as that at the south, being 200 feet long and 70 deep, making the entire deep cutting through the rock, all inclusive, no less than 1530 feet.

Editorial Change.—S. Cobb, Jr., has retired from the position he has held for some time past, as one of the editors of the New England Washingtonian, and Charles W. Slack, formerly editor of the Excelsior, is now associated with Mr. White in the editorial management of the first-named paper.

Conviction of Preachers.—After a lengthy trial, some street preachers, named Baker, Kirkland and Sharpe, were convicted at Pittsburg, on Wednesday, as nuisances, in preaching obscenity in the streets, villifying the Catholic clergy and sisters of mercy, and others in that city. Excited crowds were thus collected, to the danger and inconvenience of the public. They will undergo more than one year's imprisonment.

Hydrophobia.—A young man sixteen years of age, son of Noah A. Pratt, of Taunton, died on Monday, of hydrophobia. Mr. Pratt killed a dog supposed to have been mad last November, but was not aware of having been bitten.

A man also died of hydrophobia in Medford last Tuesday. He had been bit en in the arm, last May, by a stray lap dog, which he; in company with another man, picked up in the street.

☞ It is stated that the Sultan of Turkey has granted to M. de Lamartine, gratuitously, an immense tract of country, situated in a fertile plain, within a few hours' journey of Smyrna, and forming a part of the domains of the crown; and that M. Rolland leaves Constantinople with Ahmet Effendi, to take possession of it in the name of M. de Lamartine, who will himself arrive in the course of next spring.

Touching.—At a concert in Cleveland, lately, Mr. Seba Smith's song, descriptive of the death of Mrs. Blake, who was found frozen to death with her infant hugged to her breast still alive, was sung, and it was made known that Mr. Blake and the young lady then saved were in the audience.

Rapid Telegraphing.—The news by the steamer Europa was published, on Friday morning last, simultaneously in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Richmond, Charleston, Augusta, Savannah, Montgomery, and New Orleans.—*Phil. Ledger.*

Mortality in New Orleans.—The total interments in the city of New Orleans, from July 29th, 1848, to July 28th, 1849, were 9660, of which number 2388 were under ten years of age—whites, 7794; colored, 1866. The following is an enumeration of some of the diseases:—Deaths from cholera, 3644; diarrhœa, 213; dysentery, 380; fevers, 1269; of uncertain seat, 384: small pox, 113; of nervous system, 961; of respiratory organs, 729; included under this last head were 571 of consumption; of digestive organs, 508; still-born, 251; unknown, 556.—*N. O. Commercial Bulletin.*

☞ The whole quantity of cotton goods made in the Union is estimated at 720,000,000 of yards, of which about 80,000,000 of yards are exported, leaving 640,000,000 for home consumption — equal to about *thirty-two* yards for every inhabitant, great and small.

Sudden Wealth.—Captain Edward Bryant, formerly associate editor of the Louisville (Ky.) Courier, who is now in California, found himself unexpectedly a rich man on reaching there. Some fourteen town lots in San Francisco, which were of but little value when he left there a year previous, are now worth in the neighborhood of $100,000.

A Charivari.—Some of the New Orleanites have been rendering night hideous by serenading a citizen who has performed the remarkable feat of marrying three wives in thirteen months. On which the Delta remarks that the man who can do that same can stand a great many tin pans and broken horns.

Waste of Property.—Com. Vorhees, at San Francisco, says in a letter to his brother, that if the vessels in San Francisco harbor, crewless and deserted, are not taken care of in time, all will be wrecked the coming winter. Before winter arrives, the number will probably increase to four or five hundred—and the loss, if they are permitted to suffer the fate which he predicts, cannot be less than five or six millions of dollars.

☞ A cocoa nut tree has been recently drifted ashore on the island of Valentia, near Kerry, Ireland,—another proof that the Gulf stream, after running along the American coast, sets across the Atlantic.

☞ One of the most noted gamblers in San Francisco is said to be a Spanish woman. She has been known to put up twenty-five pounds of gold at a single stake.

Statistics of Crime.—The entire number of prisoners committed to the Cincinnati County Jail for the past year, was 1171. Of these, 468 were natives; 502 foreigners; and 101 negroes. Crimes against property, 383; against person, 502; debt, 17; breach of city ordinances, 215; insane, 1; miscellaneous charges, 273.

Large Cheese.—A cheese, weighing over *seventeen hundred pounds*, was sold in New York on Saturday. It brought $200.

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MEMOIRS of Fowell Buxton, Bart.—1 vol. 8vo. 510 pp. Price $1 75.
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August 10 tf

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ANTI-SCROFULOUS PANACEA,

A PREPARATION of extraordinary power, for the cure of Scrofulous Affections, Humors of every description, secondary Syphilis, ill-conditioned Ulcers, Fever or Mercurial Sores, chronic Liver and Kidney Diseases, Costiveness, spitting of Blood, Erysipelas, general Debility common to Females, Cold Feet, sluggish Circulation, &c. A *sure* and *certain* cure for Scrofulous Tumors on the neck, which it will never fail to remove, if taken according to directions, and faithfully persevered in.

The proprietors, after testing the virtues of this great medicine for upwards of three years in an extensive practice, and with unbounded success, now offer it to the public. In diseases of the skin arising from impure circulation, it is a *sovereign remedy*. It will assuredly eradicate any kind of humor from the system, if the directions are strictly adhered to. We challenge the world to produce its equal. Any one doubting its efficacy can satisfy themselves that it is a powerful instrumentality in the cure of disease, by consulting Dr. Clark's patients, in and about the city, who have taken it, and can testify to its healing powers. A great many have given it a trial, and we know not yet of a single person who has not derived either temporary or permanent benefit from its use.

The following was handed us, and we insert it for the consideration of others who may be similarly afflicted. The gentleman may be seen at his residence, 7 1-2 Elliot st.

BOSTON, April 27, 1849.

DRS. CLARK & PORTER:

GENTLEMEN—A little more than a year ago, I was taken with spitting blood, pain in my side and shoulder, and strong symptoms of consumption. I sought the advice of two eminent physicians of this city, who sounded my lungs, and pronounced them badly affected, or very weak. They advised me to go into the country, as a change of air might be beneficial to me. I did so, but with little hope of returning alive. While there, I was taken worse than ever. A physician was called to see me. He examined my lungs, and said he could give me no encouragement—said I might live till Fall, but probably no longer. My city physicians, previous to my leaving for the country, said I should never get well. But I was induced to try Dr. Clark, who gave me the Anti-Scrofulous Panacea, and after taking it a few months, my health was restored, and now I am able to attend to my business. I think your Panacea a medicine of great efficacy. I speak from experience. RALPH HOBART.

MORE TESTIMONY IN FAVOR OF DRS. CLARK & PORTER'S ANTI-SCROFULOUS PANACEA.

DRS. CLARK & PORTER:

GENTLEMEN—I have used your Panacea for Salt Rheum, not only on myself, but on others, and I have been surprised at its results. It is, in my opinion, the most efficient anti-humor medicine ever discovered. My humor has entirely disappeared on my hands, and I am now entirely well.

MARTIN HASKINS, M. D.
BOSTON.

DRS. CLARK & PORTER:

GENTLEMEN—I have tested the power of your Panacea in the case of my little boy, whose face and arms have been entirely covered several months with a very bad humor, and I am happy to say it has effected a radical cure. In my opinion, it is the best medicine for humors ever got up.

LAWSON HOUGHTON.

MESSRS. CLARK & PORTER:

GENTLEMEN—I would cheerfully recommend your Panacea as the most powerful medicine to my knowledge now before the public for the cure of scrofula and other humors. It has certainly effected an important cure in the case of my child, who has for some time been afflicted with a humor. I would advise all who have humors to make a trial of it. It needs no puffing; it recommends itself.

Hingham, June, 1849. DARIUS EDDY.

DRS. CLARK & PORTER:

GENTLEMEN,—I have used your Anti-Scrofulous Panacea for swellings on my boy's neck, and to my surprise, they have entirely disappeared. I consider the medicine infallible for scrofula and other humors, and think it should be circulated all over the world.

NELSON RICE.
BOSTON, May, 1849.

DRS. CLARK & PORTER:

GENTLEMEN,—I have been afflicted for a number of months with a scrofulous humor on my face and neck. I tried several kinds of medicine, but received no benefit. A friend recommended your Panacea, which I tried, and by using two bottles, I am nearly cured. I would advise every one afflicted with humors to take it, for I think it a most excellent medicine.

A. D. PARMENTER.
BOSTON, May 23, 1849.

☞ Sold at No. 80 Carver street, Boston. Price $1 per bottle.

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Our treatment is chiefly confined to CHRONIC and OBSTINATE cases which have arrested all the ordinary remedies, as